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Preface

The program of the 17th Nordic Musicological Congress at Aalborg University included five keynote lectures each with a separate theme, four independent panels, and about 35 individual presentations.

The subjects of the keynote addresses were the following: "Publishing Scholarship Successfully in the 21st Century: Writing About Music That Can't Be Ignored" by Norm Hirschy (Oxford University Press, senior commissioning editor for music & dance), "Seeker tone theory and the biological basis of human musicality" by Timo Leisiö (Tampere University, emeritus professor), "The Sound of Music" by Tore Simonsen (Norwegian Academy of Music, emeritus professor), "Cosmopolitan Musicology" by Derek Scott (Leeds University, professor of music), and finally "I've got rhythm, or do I? What musical training does to the brain and its processing of challenging rhythms" by Peter Vuust (Århus University, professor and head of the Danish National Research Foundation's Center of Excellence for Music in the Brain).

Subjects of the panel sessions were the following: "Popular Music in the Nordic Region/the "Nordic" in Popular Music" (participants from DK, S, N and SF), "Listening to the Twentieth Century and Beyond " (N), "Radio Genre Studies" (DK), "Writing composer biographies in the project Swedish Musical Heritage" (S).

Following the congress, selected delegates were invited to submit full papers for review and inclusion in this special edition of Danish Musicology Online.

One of the panels, the last of the above mentioned, and 11 of the individual presentations are included here as papers, submitted as such and accepted by peer review.

This special issue opens with an article entitled *Preparing Empirical Methodologies to Examine Enactive, Embodied Subjects Experiencing Musical Emotions*, in which Justin Christensen presents a brief overview of surveys and experiments that attempt to unearth 'universal emotional essences' with regard to music. From this foundation, Christensen then argues that these efforts have been in vain because the studies behind them have 'erased the body' from this experience of emotion concentrating, for example on isolated brain activity or discrete emotional categories. Instead, Christensen suggests that the body should be brought back into the equation, thus accommodating listener variability, and he suggests various interdisciplinary approaches to the issue.

Moving into the area of composers and composing, in the next article, *Sequence Melodies in Icelandic and Norwegian Manuscripts*, Marit Johanne Høye looks at melodic variability in the surviving manuscripts from Nidaros, an archdiocese that stretched from mainland Scandinavia across the Scottish Isles to Iceland and Greenland and that lasted for four hundred years from the mid-twelfth-century. Far from supporting the current 'dual hypothesis' extant in this research field – that the Nidaros repertoire is a blend of the Germanic and Anglo-French forms of chant *after* that repertoire reached

Nidaros – Høye presents evidence to support an alternate hypothesis – that the blending of these regional styles occurred *before* the music reached Nidaros.

The panel essay (by Gunnar Ternhag, Erik Wallrup, Elin Hermansson, Ingela Tägil, and Karin Hallgren) provides an introduction to, and some of the particular processes involved in, *Writing Composer Bibliographies in the Project* Swedish Musical Heritage. This project has the aim of providing web-based access to biographies, bibliographies and catalogues, and copyright-free musical editions of works of Swedish composers dating back to the 16th century.

Per Dahl's essay on *Text, Identity and Belief in Stravinsky's Symphony of Psalms*, is an analysis of text in relation to music that highlights Stravinsky's personal identification with the religious aspects of the work. In contrast to other works on the topic, Dahl takes the perspective of the listener in order to focus his analysis on the epistemology of meaning-making and significance-creation such that new light is shed on the relationship between Stravinsky's neoclassical aestheticism and the notion of absolute music.

Moving to aspects of vocality in compositional works, *Musical and Theatrical Declamation in Richard Wagner's Works and a Toolbox for Vocal Music Analysis* by Martin Knust introduces a multifaceted tool that is used in an analysis of the solo vocal parts of Wagner's stage works. Using eighteen different methods, the tool analyses the solo vocal scores against a number of aspects of German dramatic prosody (such as tempo shifts, accentuation, syllabic organization) and Knust is thus able to demonstrate the overwhelming influence that Germanic theatrical declamation had on the vocal style of Wagner's stage works. The essay ends with a reflection on the tool's suitability for use outside of Wagner's œuvre.

Analog Girl in a Digital World – Erykah Badu's Vocal Negotiations of the Human is the title of Erik Steinskog's essay in which he analyses the singer's use of her voice in relation to her use of, and references to, technology. The concept of a negotiated subjectivity that Steinskog raises is placed within a discourse of afrofuturism and African American music, a discourse that is interpreted through theories of digitalization and cyberspace.

Completing the theme of the voice in musical works, Erik Wallrup uses the concept of unworlding to highlight a paradox in Schoenberg's compositions in an article entitled *From Mood to Tone: On Schoenberg and Musical Worlds*. This paradox is illustrated through what Wallrup terms *a historical attunemental shift*, an unworlding of Schoenberg's Late Romantic style – a style heard, for example, in *Gurre-Lieder* – as he developed in parallel his atonal or pantonal technique in compositions such as the Second String Quartet. To argue his view, Wallrup analyses the poems of Stefan George and points to a shift in George's poetry from an emphasis on mood to an emphasis on tone as the motivating factor for Schoenberg's compositional unworlding of Late Romanticism.

The relationship between censorship and music is the subject of Heli Reimann's essay on *Jazz and Soviet Censorship: The Example of Late-Stalinist Estonia*. In particular, an

analysis of the simultaneous support for and suppression of jazz during the period of post-World War II Stalinization in Estonia provides the means for Reimann to propose that there were three forms of censorship in evidence during the period: censorship of journalism, of repertoire, and self-censorship by the musicians themselves.

Staying with the theme of music and society, in her essay, *The Capital – The Core of Musical Life*, Anne Reese Willén presents a picture of nineteenth century Stockholm musical life at a time of transformation. This transformation was not merely witnessed in a shift in musical patronage and cultural power away from royalty toward the newly emerging bourgeoisie but also in the growth in the institutionalization and professionalization of musical life in which processes the concept of *bildung* came to play a significant role.

In a provocative essay, *Staging Multiculturism in* Norway, Thomas Solomon takes a critical look at Norway's *Fargespill*. *Fargespill* is a series of state-supported, children's musical performances designed to demonstrate and enhance the concept of multiculturism in Norway. Instead, Solomon argues, in its use of refugee and immigrant children, *Fargespill* serves to contain cultural difference and to promote the normative, hierarchical status of white Norwegian culture.

The nineteenth-century vocal pedagogue Manuel Garcia is justly renowned for his influential vocal method but less is known about the influence of his technique on instrumental practice, a lack of knowledge that is surprising given the extensive use at the time of vocal tutors by instrumental teachers. In the first of two essays on pedagogy that complete the special issue, Áurea Dominguez's essay, *Manuel Garcia's Influence on Nineteenth-century Instrumental Music: Bassoon Playing in France as a Case Study*, presents a study of this vocal influence on instrumental technique by focusing on the particular case of the bassoon. In doing so, she not only sheds light on the indebtedness of nineteenth-century instrumental technique to vocal technique and Garcia's instruction in particular, but she also uncovers aspects of contemporary performance practice from an age before audio recording.

Robin Rolfhamre delves into the intricacies of seventeenth century lute improvisation in his essay entitled *Embellishing Lute Music: Using Renaissance Italian* Passaggi *Practice as a Model and Pedagogical Tool for an Increased Improvisation Vocabulary in the French Baroque Style*. Through his investigation and analyses, Rolfhamre seeks to revive the Renaissance practice of teaching lute ornamentation and improvisation and to apply it to the modern performance of French Baroque music.

The selected papers published here both reflect this specific Congress and illuminate the character of the series of the Nordic Musicological Congresses in general. Researchers in music active in the Nordic countries and researchers globally with an interest in the specific activities of Nordic music research or aspects of Nordic music and musical life have established a broad forum for the communication of current music research.

In the breadth of research approaches and topics illustrated by this congress, a quote from the Preface to the publication of papers from the 16th Nordic Musicological Congress in Stockholm 2012 (published 2014) might be appropriate:

"The epithet "Nordic" in the last analysis is a matter of arrangement and organisation (involving the musicological societies of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden), and of the acceptance of the Scandinavian languages for presentation, but little else. And that is how it should be."

Mark Grimshaw & Peder Kaj Pedersen
(NMC 2015 co-chairs and editors of the DMO special issue)

JUSTIN CHRISTENSEN

Preparing Empirical Methodologies to Examine Enactive, Embodied Subjects Experiencing Musical Emotions

Introduction

There is a lot of exciting empirical research currently taking place studying how music listeners experience emotion. Stefan Koelsch thinks that this is no surprise, as

> Using music to investigate the neural correlates of emotion has several benefits: (1) Music is capable of evoking *strong emotions* (usually more powerful than, for example, static images of faces). Strongly pleasurable responses to music can involve, e.g., goose bumps or shivers down the spine. (2) Music can be used to investigate *mixed emotions* (such as 'pleasant sadness'). (3) Music can evoke a wide variety of emotions.[1]

However, with these great developments that are taking place, I feel that there are a few problems that need to be addressed before we can take the necessary steps to move this research to a new level that can recognize an enactive, embodied listener in the world.

Faculty Psychology[2] has presented a view of the mind that is modular, where individual faculties are assigned different tasks, and each of these faculties arise from localized processes in the brain. This viewpoint has separated the function of the mind on both the macro and micro scales to individually hierarchized regions of the brain. Perceptual integration is thus categorically different and processed separately from emotion, which is processed separately from cognition, which is separate from action tendency.[3] This has often been colloquially described as the "cognitive sandwich", with perception and action tendency forming the slices of bread surrounding the cognizing processes. On a smaller scale, individual emotions (such as happiness or anger) would

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1   Stefan Koelsch, *Brain and Music* (John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 203.
2   Faculty Psychology has been a school of psychology that has argued for the brain to be separated into specialised, encapsulated modules that are anchored on an a priori basis to their specialisation. Can be seen in Jerry A. Fodor, *The Modularity of Mind: An Essay on Faculty Psychology* (MIT Press, 1983).
3   D. W. Massaro, "An Information-Processing Analysis of Perception and Action," ed. Dr Odmar Neumann and Prof Dr Wolfgang Prinz (Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 1990), 133–66.

also be localized to their own respective places in the brain, and your impressions of your grandmother might even be localized to a specific neuron or bundle of neurons.[4] As a result, a goal of Faculty Psychology is to disentangle and localize the essences of thought, often reducing them to universal Platonic Forms, and Lockean essences. Regarding music-related emotions, the Platonic Theory of Forms asserts that there should be specific universal and typological biomarkers hidden behind each particular emotional response, and Locke's theory of essences provides the notion that each emotional response is *caused* by dedicated underlying emotional circuits.

The history of psychology has been a continual battle between different factions to determine the level of reductionism most advantageous to understanding patterns of behaviour. Fighting against essentialism, William James stated that: "The trouble with emotions in psychology is that they are regarded too much as… psychic entities, like the old immutable species in natural history."[5] In this paper, I will try to follow in the footsteps of James and Wundt,[6] arguing against psychological essentialisms that attempt to oversimplify rich, dynamic, and situated mental responses into direct causal relationships.

Most recent research on music and emotions has used a locationist approach. This is a softened version of a Faculty Psychology viewpoint that is often agnostic towards whether there are linear (Lockean) cause-and-effect relationships between different mental faculties, but argues that separate emotions should be consistently linked to specific individualized regions of the brain (following Platonic forms).[7] Many individual papers have found significant results for localized emotional responses to music,[8] but the meta-analyses by Barrett and Wager[9] and Lindquist and colleagues[10] have been unable to find evidence that supports this approach significantly and consistently across the numerous studies that they investigated.

Furthering the precariousness of music emotion research, the immutability of psychology research in general has been under fire of late because of the Reproducibility Project undertaken by the Open Science Collaboration. In 2015, they attempted to replicate previous psychology experiments, where they found that only "39% of effects

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4   Xu Liu et al., "Optogenetic Stimulation of a Hippocampal Engram Activates Fear Memory Recall," *Nature* 484, no. 7394 (April 2012): 381–85, doi:10.1038/nature11028; R. Quian Quiroga et al., "Invariant Visual Representation by Single Neurons in the Human Brain," *Nature* 435, no. 7045 (June 2005): 1102–7, doi:10.1038/nature03687.

5   William James, *The Principles of Psychology (Vol. 1)* (New York: Holt, 1890), 449.

6   Wilhelm Max Wundt and Charles Hubbard Judd, *Outlines of Psychology* (Bristol, UK: Thoemmes Press, 1998).

7   Kristen A. Lindquist et al., "The Brain Basis of Emotion: A Meta-Analytic Review," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 35, no. 03 (June 2012): 121–43, doi:10.1017/S0140525X11000446.

8   E.g. Elvira Brattico et al., "It's Sad but I Like It: The Neural Dissociation Between Musical Emotions and Liking in Experts and Laypersons," *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* 9 (January 2016), doi:10.3389/fnhum.2015.00676; Philip A. Kragel and Kevin S. LaBar, "Multivariate Neural Biomarkers of Emotional States Are Categorically Distinct.," *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience*, March 2015, 1–12, doi:10.1093/scan/nsv032.

9   Lisa Feldman Barrett and Tor D. Wager, "The Structure of Emotion Evidence From Neuroimaging Studies," *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 15, no. 2 (April 2006): 79–83, doi:10.1111/j.0963-7214.2006.00411.x.

10   Lindquist et al., "The Brain Basis of Emotion."

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were subjectively rated to have replicated the original results"[11] and only 68% continued to have significant results after combining the original and replicated results. This is considerably lower than would be expected by chance. While I do not fear that this amounts to an impending crisis of psychology, I do think that this reminds us to be ever more vigilant against assuming that there is more stability in the research than there is,[12] and following this, that we need to do everything we can to make as much of the research as possible to be as immutable as possible.

Embodied Cognition

Although Lettvin and colleagues' influential paper "What the Frog's Eye Tells the Frog's Brain"[13] came out in 1959, and there was substantial work on embodiment in phenomenology and other areas of philosophical research prior to that, embodied cognition seems to be a young area of research. I think that this results from the research area developing in multiple directions at once and being a constructivist approach, both of which can make it more difficult to pin down the major propositions of this theory. For instance, under the umbrella of embodiment (which is often also labelled 4EA) there are embodied, embedded, enactive, extended and affective theories of cognition, but it can also include grounded cognition, sensorimotor theory and many others. Additionally, since individuals have a responsibility to act in a goal-directed manner under the time-constraint pressures of real life, embodiment as constructivism argues that we actively participate in the perception and meaning making of our environment rather than passively apprehending an accurate reality.[14] This situated constructivism makes it difficult to take an immutable and universal rule-based approach. However, the overall concern of the embodiment thesis "is not to determine how some perceiver-independent world is to be recovered; it is, rather, to determine the common principles or lawful linkages between sensory and motor systems that explain how action can be perceptually guided in a perceiver-dependent world"[15] I will later argue that, even without a rule-based approach to cognizing, we can find stable patterns that can give us a good insight into the dynamic roles of emotions in experience.

Embodiment can be seen as a fight against the modularity of faculty psychology earlier introduced. Glenberg and colleagues have presented a fairly succinct characterization of embodied cognition. They state that

11   Alexander A. Aarts et al., "Estimating the Reproducibility of Psychological Science," *Science* 349, no. 6251 (August 2015): 943 aac4716-1, doi:10.1126/science.aac4716.

12   Michael Lissack, "Second Order Science: Examining Hidden Presuppositions in the Practice of Science," *Foundations of Science*, January 2016, 1–17, doi:10.1007/s10699-016-9483-x; Lee Jussim et al., "Interpretations and Methods: Towards a More Effectively Self-Correcting Social Psychology," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, n.d., doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2015.10.003.

13   J. Y. Lettvin et al., "What the Frog's Eye Tells the Frog's Brain," *Proceedings of the IRE* 47, no. 11 (November 1959): 1940–51, doi:10.1109/JRPROC.1959.287207.

14   Margaret Wilson, "Six Views of Embodied Cognition," *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 9, no. 4 (December 2002): 625–36, doi:10.3758/BF03196322.

15   Francisco J. Varela, Eleanor Rosch, and Evan Thompson, *The Embodied Mind: Cognitive Science and Human Experience* (MIT Press, 1992), 173.

the fundamental tenet of embodied cognition research is that thinking is not something that is divorced from the body; instead, thinking is an activity strongly influenced by the body and the brain interacting with the environment. To say it differently, how we think depends on the sorts of bodies we have. Furthermore, the reason why cognition depends on the body is becoming clear: Cognition exists to guide action. We perceive in order to act (and what we perceive depends on how we intend to act); we have emotions to guide action; and understanding even the most abstract cognitive processes (e.g., the self, language) is benefited by considering how they are grounded in action. This concern for action contrasts with standard cognitive psychology that, for the most part, considers action (and the body) as secondary to cognition.[16]

My only contention with their description is that it could be more nuanced regarding the 'sorts of bodies' constraining perceptions and experiences. Related to this, Thelen and Smith proposed a dynamical systems approach for the development of movement patterns in infants, after they found that each of their infant subjects faced unique challenges in response to their individual body dimensions, energy levels, and changing contexts.[17] In overcoming the challenges, these infants also used unique strategies, seen as emergent phenomena arising from decentralized and local interactions, which Thelen later argued would be very difficult to defend as being innate.[18] Following Thelen and Smith, I would argue that the body (not only as a form of constraint) takes part in dynamic interactions with the environment, spontaneously guiding the individual to find movements, perceptions, and thoughts that are natural for them in attempting to achieve meaningful experiences and achieve goals.

While there is still some disagreement on the role of mirror neurons,[19] these neurons give considerable support to the notion of embodied cognition. "Thanks to our mirror neurons, we can consciously experience another human being's movements as meaningful. Perhaps the evolutionary precursor of language was not animal calls but gestural communication."[20] This is supported by Acharya and Schukla, who state: "Thanks to the mirror neurons, what counted for the sender of the message also counted for the receiver. No arbitrary symbols were required. The comprehension was inherent in the neural organization of the two individuals."[21] These statements

16   Arthur M. Glenberg, Jessica K. Witt, and Janet Metcalfe, "From the Revolution to Embodiment 25 Years of Cognitive Psychology," *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 8, no. 5 (September 2013): 573, doi:10.1177/1745691613498098.

17   Esther Thelen and Linda B. Smith, *A Dynamic Systems Approach to the Development of Cognition and Action* (MIT Press, 1996).

18   Esther Thelen, "Motor Development: A New Synthesis," *American Psychologist* 50, no. 2 (1995): 79–95, doi:10.1037/0003-066X.50.2.79.

19   Gregory Hickok, *The Myth of Mirror Neurons: The Real Neuroscience of Communication and Cognition* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2014).

20   Thomas Metzinger, *The Ego Tunnel: The Science of the Mind and the Myth of the Self* (Basic Books, 2009), 172.

21   Sourya Acharya and Samarth Shukla, "Mirror Neurons: Enigma of the Metaphysical Modular Brain," *Journal of Natural Science, Biology, and Medicine* 3, no. 2 (2012): 118–24, doi:10.4103/0976-9668.101878.

support the idea that musical experience does not require reflective consciousness understood through linguistic concepts, but rather that the body might be central to the process of meaning-making. This is further supported by Bowman, who asserts: "When we hear a music performance, we do not just 'think,' nor do we just 'hear': we participate with our whole bodies; we construct and enact it."[22] Moreover, Vuust and Kringelbach argue that anticipation and predictive coding can explain much of musical emotion.[23] David Huron has also placed considerable emphasis on the role of anticipation in music and has presented learning as a large part of building anticipation, where "learning is not some disembodied social phenomenon, but an evolved neurological process in which aspects of the environment are invited to influence the microstructure of the brain."[24] He also repeats similar assertions to this several times through *Sweet Anticipation* for a number of musical properties, where these musical properties are "not some disembodied property".[25]

There is further support for embodiment in music listening, as motor dysfunctions can impair the processing of musical features (both in Parkinson's[26] and Huntington's disease[27]). Additionally, types of body movements in time with music can impact the expressiveness[28] and rhythmic structures perceived in the music.[29]

Theories of Emotion Measurement

In "Two Dogmas of Empiricism",[30] Quine argues that observations themselves are theory-laden. Research is thus shaped by the theories that inform us which aspects we should most likely focus on and which we should ignore, which questions we should ask our subjects, and what data we think our instruments are collecting. Empirical frameworks can greatly assist in the running of an experiment, but the establishment of well-informed hypotheses and the inference of knowledgeable conclusions from gathered results falls outside of their purview. As a result, one must strongly rely on

22 Wayne Bowman, "Cognition and the Body: Perspectives from Music Education," ed. Liora Bresler, Landscapes: The Arts, Aesthetics, and Education (Springer Netherlands, 2004), 29–50.

23 Peter Vuust and Morten L. Kringelbach, "The Pleasure of Music," in *Pleasures of the Brain*, ed. Kent C. Berridge and Morten L. Kringelbach (Oxford University Press, 2009), 255–69.

24 David Brian Huron, *Sweet Anticipation : Music and the Psychology of Expectation* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006), 63.

25 Ibid., 101, 124, 200, 264, 359.

26 Jessica A. Grahn and Matthew Brett, "Impairment of Beat-Based Rhythm Discrimination in Parkinson's Disease," *Cortex*, Special Issue on "The Rhythmic Brain", 45, no. 1 (January 2009): 54–61, doi:10.1016/j.cortex.2008.01.005.

27 Christian Beste et al., "Music Perception and Movement Deterioration in Huntington's Disease," *PLoS Currents* 3 (September 2011): RRN1252, doi:10.1371/currents.RRN1252.

28 Pieter-Jan Maes and Marc Leman, "The Influence of Body Movements on Children's Perception of Music with an Ambiguous Expressive Character," *PLOS ONE* 8, no. 1 (January 2013): e54682, doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0054682.

29 Jessica Phillips-Silver and Laurel J. Trainor, "Hearing What the Body Feels: Auditory Encoding of Rhythmic Movement," *Cognition* 105, no. 3 (December 2007): 533–46, doi:10.1016/j.cognition.2006.11.006.

30 Willard van Orman Quine, "Two Dogmas of Empiricism," ed. Sandra G. Harding, Synthese Library (Springer Netherlands, 1976), 41–64.

the theories that have been gathered in advance to support the appropriate methodologies. Regarding the measuring of emotions, Barrett agrees with this and, quoting Greenwald and Ronis, states that: "Without meaningful theoretical integration, newcomers find it difficult to identify what is known about emotion with any degree of certainty. Scientists are paralyzed in a "disconfirmation dilemma" (Greenwald & Ronis, 1981) that makes accumulating knowledge about emotion almost impossible (except within theory-based silos)."[31]

One of the difficulties for designing well-informed hypotheses on music emotion research is that there are multiple theories for classifying and measuring emotions, all of which colour the focus of the experimentation. Furthermore, these emotion theories "agree on very little other than that emotions, as brief reactions with synchronized components (expressions, action tendencies, bodily reactions, feelings, and appraisals), are triggered by "relevant" and "significant" objects in the world."[32]

First, there is the discrete emotion theory, which measures emotions as discrete subsets of universal and innate basic emotions.[33] Expanding on this approach, Zentner and co-authors felt that one of the problems of measuring musical experiences was that measurements for everyday experiences of emotion did not adequately match the emotions felt when listening to music (especially for negative music). As a result, they came up with the Geneva Emotional Musical Scales (GEMS) as an adaptation from discrete emotion theory.[34] Discrete emotion theory falls under Faculty Psychology, searching for Platonic universal emotions and Lockean essences.[35] Of the three emotion theories, discrete emotion theory presents the most feasible methods for achieving positive results if the theory is supported, as it has clear research methodologies and searches for direct linear cause-and-effect relationships with universal emotions. This theory has done well at having listeners categorize their perceptions of a limited number of basic emotions expressed in music[36] but has been less successful regarding evoked musical emotions,[37] or for evoked emotions in general.[38]

31   Lisa Feldman Barrett, "Navigating the Science of Emotion," in *Emotion Measurement*, ed. Herbert L. Meiselman (Woodhead Publishing, 2016), 35, doi:10.1016/B978-0-08-100508-8.00008-4; Anthony G. Greenwald and David L. Ronis, "On the Conceptual Disconfirmation of Theories," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 7, no. 1 (March 1981): 131–37, doi:10.1177/014616728171020.

32   Barrett, "Navigating the Science of Emotion," 31.

33   Paul Ekman, "An Argument for Basic Emotions," *Cognition and Emotion* 6, no. 3–4 (May 1992): 169–200, doi:10.1080/02699939208411068.

34   Marcel Zentner, Didier Grandjean, and Klaus R. Scherer, "Emotions Evoked by the Sound of Music: Characterization, Classification, and Measurement," *Emotion* 8, no. 4 (2008): 494–521, doi:10.1037/1528-3542.8.4.494.

35   Barrett, "Navigating the Science of Emotion."

36   Isabelle Peretz, William Aubé, and Jorge L. Armony, "Towards a Neurobiology of Musical Emotions," *The Evolution of Emotional Communication: From Sounds in Nonhuman Mammals to Speech and Music in Man*, 2013, 277.

37   Thomas Baumgartner, Michaela Esslen, and Lutz Jäncke, "From Emotion Perception to Emotion Experience: Emotions Evoked by Pictures and Classical Music," *International Journal of Psychophysiology* 60, no. 1 (April 2006): 34–43, doi:10.1016/j.ijpsycho.2005.04.007.

38   Lisa Feldman Barrett, "Solving the Emotion Paradox: Categorization and the Experience of Emotion," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 10, no. 1 (February 2006): 20–46, doi:10.1207/

Second is the appraisal theory of emotions, in which cognitive activity brings forth subjective appraisals that either cause or constitute emotional responses. This theory can further be divided into two groups: causal appraisal theories and constructive appraisal theories. In causal appraisal theory, emotions are caused by individually dedicated emotion detection mechanisms that recognize the cognitive activity that represents a particular emotion. Constructive appraisal theories are similar to causal appraisal theories, but in constructive appraisal the phenomenological experience of the listener does not necessarily match the underlying mechanisms that form that emotional experience. An example of a constructive appraisal theory for music-related emotions is Stefan Koelsch and colleagues' recent quartet theory of emotions, where emotional experiences are the integration of four affect systems in the brain (located in the brainstem, diencephalon, hippocampus, and orbitofrontal cortex) along with inputs from other emotional effector systems (motor, attentional and memory systems), that are also impacted by interactions in society and language.[39]

Third, there has often been presented a dimensional theory of emotions that places emotions into a 2-dimensional space for arousal and valence, but can also include other dimensions.[40] Barrett argues that: "So-called "dimensional" theories of emotion do not actually exist. Most of these theories hypothesize valence and arousal as necessary, but not sufficient, features of emotion. Categorizing theories as "dimensional" betrays a fundamental misunderstanding of how these theories work."[41] Instead of reducing and impoverishing these methods to fit them into a "machine metaphor"-inspired discrete emotion theory where they don't really fit, she would prefer that these dimensional theories be considered descriptive maps of emotional experience, falling under constructive theories of emotion.[42]

Constructive theories of emotion hypothesize that emotions emerge as a process of meaning-making from the automatic and effortless interaction of sensory stimulation (both from the internal milieu of the body and from the world), memory, and basic affective processes. Also, although emotions are phenomenologically experienced as being separate from cognition, constructivists assert that there is no distinction in brain activity between cognition, emotion and perception, and that they all take part in the dynamic interaction between the mind, body and environment.[43] Furthermore, constructivists argue that emotional responses do not appear from out of the blue once triggered (as they do in appraisal theories), but instead are continually operat-

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s15327957pspr1001_2; Sean A. Guillory and Krzysztof A. Bujarski, "Exploring Emotions Using Invasive Methods: Review of 60 Years of Human Intracranial Electrophysiology," *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience*, February 2014, nsu002, doi:10.1093/scan/nsu002; Joseph LeDoux, *Anxious: Using the Brain to Understand and Treat Fear and Anxiety* (Penguin, 2015).

39 Stefan Koelsch et al., "The Quartet Theory of Human Emotions: An Integrative and Neurofunctional Model," *Physics of Life Reviews* 13 (June 2015): 1–27, doi:10.1016/j.plrev.2015.03.001.

40 This was first mentioned by Wundt, where emotions had 3 dimensions "pleasurable vs. unpleasurable", "arousing vs. subduing", "straining vs. relaxing". Seen in Wundt and Judd, *Outlines of Psychology*.

41 Barrett, "Navigating the Science of Emotion," 32.

42 Lisa Feldman Barrett and James Albert Russell, *The Psychological Construction of Emotion* (Guilford Publications, 2014).

43 Barrett, "Navigating the Science of Emotion."

ing, preparing for the "remembered present"[44] through simulation. This act of simulation constructs a population of predictions by comparing the present experience to past experiences, and as a result actively constructs a meaningful experience by filtering sensory stimuli through memories of past experiences.[45] As a result, constructivists postulate that emotions are constructed rather than triggered.[46] Music listening is a great example of this. David Huron has shown that stylistic knowledge increases both the confidence of the listener and their ability to anticipate upcoming musical events. [47] Similarly, Salimpoor and co-authors have shown that the anticipation of a pleasurable musical moment elicits a pleasure response often for 10 to 15 seconds before the event.[48] Paraprosdokia[49] can also demonstrate the importance that anticipatory meaning-making plays in reading comprehension. For instance, the ending of Mitch Hedberg's statement "I haven't slept for ten days, because that would be too long"[50] elicits an 'Aha!' moment from the necessary reconfiguration of the sentence's anticipated meaning. Through observing patients with lesions or deficits in emotion processing as being unable to have these 'Aha!' moments, Antonio Damasio asserts that these moments are emotional responses driving cognitive activity, and that emotional responses are essential for rational and adaptive behaviour.[51] More recently, others, such as Luiz Pessoa, have argued that any division into cognitive vs. emotional behaviours is problematic due to the dynamic coalitions of activity required to constitute cognitive-emotional behaviours.[52]

Additionally, constructive theories of emotion deny that there is a possibility to correlate information across modalities of experience. "One measure cannot stand in for another, so that *optimal* measurement of emotion requires a multimodal approach."[53] This outlook is remarkably similar to Hayles's viewpoint towards the errors she believes we are making on moving into a posthumanist age.

> My strategy is to complicate the leap from embodied reality to abstract information by pointing to moments when the assumptions involved in this move were contested by other researchers in the field and so became especially visible. The point of highlighting such moments is to make clear how much had to be erased to arrive at such abstractions as bodiless information. Abstraction is of

44   Gerald Edelman, "Consciousness: The Remembered Present," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 929, no. 1 (April 2001): 111–22, doi:10.1111/j.1749-6632.2001.tb05711.x.
45   Barrett, "Navigating the Science of Emotion."
46   Barrett and Russell, *The Psychological Construction of Emotion*.
47   Huron, *Sweet Anticipation : Music and the Psychology of Expectation*.
48   Valorie N Salimpoor et al., "Anatomically Distinct Dopamine Release during Anticipation and Experience of Peak Emotion to Music," *Nature Neuroscience* 14, no. 2 (2011): 257–62.
49   A paraprosdokian is a figure of speech that ends in a surprising way.
50   Eric Zorn, "Fine Lines: Mitch Hedberg," *Chicago Tribune*, April 4, 2005.
51   Antonio R Damasio, Hanna Damasio, and Yves Christen, *Neurobiology of Decision-Making, Research and Perspectives in Neurosciences* (Berlin ; New York: Springer, 1996).
52   Luiz Pessoa, "On the Relationship between Emotion and Cognition," *Nature Reviews Neuroscience* 9, no. 2 (February 2008): 148–58, doi:10.1038/nrn2317; Damasio, Damasio, and Christen, *Neurobiology of Decision-Making*.
53   Barrett, "Navigating the Science of Emotion," 48, italics in original.

> course an essential component in all theorizing, for no theory can account for the infinite multiplicity of our interactions with the real.[54]

Since we have only recently gained the tools to analyse data in a multimodal approach through machine learning pattern classification (which does not need to reduce data to abstract bodiless information), constructive psychology is now a quickly developing field. Continuing on this theme, I would argue, given these new methods of pattern classification, that we should attempt to understand the meaning-making process on multiple levels; not only on the group level, but also how these patterns might be individualized, not only as a study of phenomenological experience, but also as an attempt to better understand nonconscious thought processes.

One example of a psychological construction theory is Barrett and colleagues' Conceptual Act Theory.[55] In this theory, an emotion is hypothesized to be an abstract category, populated with instances of that emotion tailored to fit the experiences and the situated environment of that individual.[56] Emotions arise from the dynamic interactions of core systems, where "conceptual knowledge is embodied and enactive, producing novel features during an instance of emotion via inference, such that emotional episodes take on functions that the physical sensations do not have on their own."[57] Emphasizing concepts and vocabulary, Concept Act Theory hypothesizes that words become the statistical regularity that can hold abstract emotional categories together across various emotional instances.[58]

One difficulty in measuring emotion with any of the above theories is that perceiving emotions and experiencing evoked emotions are very different activities especially during musical experiences. Evoked musical emotions have been considered to be ephemeral and personal, but the perception of basic emotions in music is remarkably invariant across listeners,[59] and children can already easily distinguish between them by the age of six.[60] Contrary to this stability in the perception of musical emotions, Kallinen and Ravaja have shown that descriptions of emotional experience can vary greatly, depending on whether the subject was asked to describe their perceived emotion of the music or their felt emotion in response to the music. Gabrielsson[61] and Zentner and Scherer[62] have also corroborated some of Kallinen and Ravaja's results,

54   N. Katherine Hayles, *How We Became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics* (University of Chicago Press, 2008), 12.

55   L. F. Barrett, C. D. Wilson-Mendenhall, and L. W. Barsalou, "The Conceptual Act Theory: A Road Map," in *The Psychological Construction of Emotion*, ed. L. Feldman Barrett and J. A. Russell (New York: Guilford Press, 2014), 83–110.

56   Ibid.

57   Ibid., 87.

58   Barrett, Wilson-Mendenhall, and Barsalou, "The Conceptual Act Theory."

59   Peretz, Aubé, and Armony, "Towards a Neurobiology of Musical Emotions."

60   Joseph G. Cunningham and Rebecca S. Sterling, "Developmental Change in the Understanding of Affective Meaning in Music," *Motivation and Emotion* 12, no. 4 (December 1988): 399–413, doi:10.1007/BF00992362.

61   Alf Gabrielsson, "Emotion Perceived and Emotion Felt: Same or Different?," *Musicae Scientiae* 5, no. 1 suppl (September 2002): 123–47, doi:10.1177/10298649020050S105.

62   Zentner, Grandjean, and Scherer, "Emotions Evoked by the Sound of Music."

in that negatively perceived music is often felt as being either neutral or positive. Additionally, EEG experiments, measuring hemispheric asymmetries by alpha lateralization, have been found to be a good fit with self-reported affective responses for positively perceived music. On the other hand, these EEG results, while still showing reasonably small standard deviations across listeners, tend to be considerably more positive than the self-reported affective responses for negatively perceived music.[63] All of these results give me cause for concern in regards to a reliable relationship between the phenomenological experience and the underlying affective mechanisms for emotional musical experiences. One viewpoint is the possibility for conscious confabulation, where conscious experience might not be fully trusted to give a comprehensive or even accurate appraisal of one's embodied experience in the world.[64] The other is that nonconscious survival instincts are not necessarily equivalent to feelings of emotion. LeDoux states: "we should not assume that observation of one of the nonconscious consequences (elicitation of body reflexes, motivation of more complex behaviours, or reinforcement of learning) means that a conscious feeling of pain or pleasure has occurred."[65] I will discuss this more later in the subsection on posthumanism. Added to the possibilities for confabulation, self-report, the means of acquiring knowledge on evoked emotional responses, can often be inaccurate even on objectively measurable phenomena (such as height or weight)[66] and biased due to the social desirability of that response.[67] Furthermore, as many researchers have argued that music has strong links to cultural and social identity,[68] this could cause difficulties in disentangling the reporting of an evoked emotional response from its social desirability.[69] These are big challenges that need to be addressed to adequately measure emotions in musical experiences.

63   Eckart Altenmüller et al., "Hits to the Left, Flops to the Right: Different Emotions during Listening to Music Are Reflected in Cortical Lateralisation Patterns," *Neuropsychologia* 40, no. 13 (2002): 2242–56, doi:10.1016/S0028-3932(02)00107-0; Louis A Schmidt and Laurel J Trainor, "Frontal Brain Electrical Activity (EEG) Distinguishes Valence and Intensity of Musical Emotions," *Cognition & Emotion* 15, no. 4 (2001): 487–500, doi:10.1080/0269993004200187; Enrique O. Flores-Gutiérrez et al., "Metabolic and Electric Brain Patterns during Pleasant and Unpleasant Emotions Induced by Music Masterpieces," *International Journal of Psychophysiology* 65, no. 1 (July 2007): 69–84, doi:10.1016/j.ijpsycho.2007.03.004; C. D. Tsang et al., "Frontal EEG Responses as a Function of Affective Musical Features," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 930, no. 1 (June 2001): 439–42, doi:10.1111/j.1749-6632.2001.tb05764.x.

64   Other examples of conscious confabulation can be seen in Christopher Chabris and Daniel Simons, *The Invisible Gorilla: And Other Ways Our Intuitions Deceive Us* (Broadway Books, 2011).

65   LeDoux, *Anxious*, 158.

66   S. Connor Gorber et al., "A Comparison of Direct vs. Self-Report Measures for Assessing Height, Weight and Body Mass Index: A Systematic Review," *Obesity Reviews* 8, no. 4 (July 2007): 307–26, doi:10.1111/j.1467-789X.2007.00347.x.

67   James R. Hebert et al., "Social Desirability Bias in Dietary Self-Report May Compromise the Validity of Dietary Intake Measures," *International Journal of Epidemiology* 24, no. 2 (April 1995): 389–98, doi:10.1093/ije/24.2.389; Van De Mortel and Thea F, "Faking It: Social Desirability Response Bias in Self-Report Research," *Australian Journal of Advanced Nursing, The* 25, no. 4 (August 2008): 40.

68   Andy Bennett, *Popular Music and Youth Culture: Music, Identity and Place* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); Martin Stokes, *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. Martin Stokes (Providence: Berg, 1994).

69   Chabris and Simons, *The Invisible Gorilla*.

Conceptual Act Theory has already asserted, through its emphasis on vocabulary and concepts, that an individual's use of vocabulary and concepts can have a very strong impact on their conscious experience. In support of these claims, language has been found to be very helpful in developing concepts and categories; it facilitates the development of new categorizations, [70] it can be already used by 10-month old infants to group objects that do not look or sound similar to one another[71] and, when dementia patients lose the concept knowledge to describe their emotions, they can lose the ability to perceive them.[72] Further supporting this, Richard Hilbert found that chronic pain that does not fit within the standard descriptions of pain causes further suffering and social isolation in patients as they have no language with which to describe their pain.[73] On top of this, meta-analysis results from Nilsson and López are consistent with the theory that children with language impairment have a "substantially lower ToM [theory of mind] performance compared to age-matched typically developing children".[74] Furthermore, there have been significant links made between language processing and spatial representation,[75] language processing and the perception of moving objects,[76] as well as language processing and colour perception.[77] Evidence is considerable and growing that language is not an innocent tool, but rather that it has a large impact on conscious experience.

In response to language possibly having repercussions on the description of musical emotions, Zentner and Scherer wrote an exhaustive paper that attempts to minimize the influence of vocabulary and concepts on musical emotion classification. They state that their reasoning for writing this paper was that: "The aforementioned research tradition made valuable contributions to an understanding of music-specific affects—for example, by pointing to the possibility that canonical emotion labels may not do justice to the emotions evoked by music".[78] From this work,

70 Gary Lupyan, David H. Rakison, and James L. McClelland, "Language Is Not Just for Talking Redundant Labels Facilitate Learning of Novel Categories," *Psychological Science* 18, no. 12 (December 2007): 1077–83, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2007.02028.x.

71 Kathryn Dewar and Fei Xu, "Do Early Nouns Refer to Kinds or Distinct Shapes? Evidence From 10-Month-Old Infants," *Psychological Science* 20, no. 2 (February 2009): 252–57, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2009.02278.x.

72 Kristen A. Lindquist et al., "Emotion Perception, but Not Affect Perception, Is Impaired with Semantic Memory Loss," *Emotion* 14, no. 2 (2014): 375–87, doi:10.1037/a0035293.

73 Richard A. Hilbert, "The Acultural Dimensions of Chronic Pain: Flawed Reality Construction and the Problem of Meaning," *Social Problems* 31, no. 4 (1984): 365–78, doi:10.2307/800384.

74 Kristine Kahr Nilsson and Kristine Jensen de López, "Theory of Mind in Children With Specific Language Impairment: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis," *Child Development* 87, no. 1 (January 2016): 143, doi:10.1111/cdev.12462.

75 Daniel C Richardson et al., "Spatial Representations Activated during Real-Time Comprehension of Verbs," *Cognitive Science* 27, no. 5 (September 2003): 767–80, doi:10.1016/S0364-0213(03)00064-8.

76 Lotte Meteyard, Bahador Bahrami, and Gabriella Vigliocco, "Motion Detection and Motion Verbs Language Affects Low-Level Visual Perception," *Psychological Science* 18, no. 11 (November 2007): 1007–13, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2007.02016.x.

77 Guillaume Thierry et al., "Unconscious Effects of Language-Specific Terminology on Preattentive Color Perception," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106, no. 11 (March 2009): 4567–70, doi:10.1073/pnas.0811155106.

78 Marcel Zentner, Didier Grandjean, and Klaus R. Scherer, "Emotions Evoked by the Sound of Music: Characterization, Classification, and Measurement," *Emotion* 8, no. 4 (2008): 496, doi:10.1037/1528-3542.8.4.494.

they developed the GEMS to better describe musical emotions. One of the things of note that they found was that "guilt, shame, jealousy, disgust, contempt, embarrassment, anger, and fear—these and other negative emotions—were reported to be regularly experienced in everyday life but to be practically never aroused by music."[79] Their theory that music-evoked emotions are somehow unique (and yet still related) to other types of emotional experiences has been given a little support by Brattico and colleagues (the lateralization of amygdala activations for their research on music-evoked emotions were inversely related to Fusar-Poli and colleagues' research on visual research),[80] hints of support by Koelch and colleagues,[81] and have a shared viewpoint with Barrett and colleagues, who consider emotions to vary their optimization for different contexts.[82] Since the GEMS has been specifically designed for measuring music-related emotions, one might consider this to be the best option for overcoming the impact of language on describing musical experience, except that it has underperformed other models in a few comparative experiments.[83] The weaknesses of the GEMS, similar to other discrete emotion theories, is that it has difficulty in measuring ambiguous musical examples, and has difficulty in compatibly classifying emotions across personality types. These results, especially regarding emotion categorization due to personality type, further support the theory that language might have an impact on experience itself and not just on the description of experience.

Since we have not sufficiently resolved descriptions of emotions, the differences between perceived and evoked emotions have not found clear support for universal discrete emotions and psychology is generally having problems of replication, I thus argue that we should follow the ideas of Thomas Kuhn and I advocate for us to openly question the paradigms involved in the study of musically evoked emotions.[84] Consequently, I advocate bringing in ideas from Actor Network theory to examine the network of relations involved in this research area, as it is suited to doing research within a paradigm shift. I will also borrow from other humanities research areas such as work on Enactivism as developed Ezequiel Di Paolo and

79   Ibid, 500.
80   Brattico et al., "It's Sad but I Like It"; P. Fusar-Poli et al., "Laterality Effect on Emotional Faces Processing: ALE Meta-Analysis of Evidence," *Neuroscience Letters* 452, no. 3 (March 2009): 262–67, doi:10.1016/j.neulet.2009.01.065.
81   Koelsch et al., "The Quartet Theory of Human Emotions."
82   Barrett, Wilson-Mendenhall, and Barsalou, "The Conceptual Act Theory."
83   Tuomas Eerola and Jonna K. Vuoskoski, "A Comparison of the Discrete and Dimensional Models of Emotion in Music," *Psychology of Music*, August 2010, doi:10.1177/0305735610362821; Jonna K. Vuoskoski and Tuomas Eerola, "Measuring Music-Induced Emotion A Comparison of Emotion Models, Personality Biases, and Intensity of Experiences," *Musicae Scientiae* 15, no. 2 (July 2011): 159–73, doi:10.1177/1029864911403367; Mathieu Barthet, György Fazekas, and Mark Sandler, "Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Music Emotion Recognition: Implications for Content and Context-Based Models," in *Proc. CMMR*, 2012, 492–507; Julien Dubois and Ralph Adolphs, "Neuropsychology: How Many Emotions Are There?," *Current Biology* 25, no. 15 (August 2015): R669–72, doi:10.1016/j.cub.2015.06.037.
84   Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions: 50th Anniversary Edition* (University of Chicago Press, 2012).

Hannah de Jaegher,[85] Music Sociology work of Tia DeNora,[86] and Posthumanism by N. Katherine Hayles.[87]

Integration of Humanities Research

One might question the introduction of humanities research in this paper. My goal of this paper is not to expound a fully formed research methodology, as the breadth of the materials are not conducive for that, but, instead, to open up a discussion for the integration of research methodologies that might help advance the topic of music emotion research. Following from this, I very much look forward to receiving constructive feedback from across academic disciplines with this goal in mind.

At this point, I think that it might be necessary to briefly address one major confabulation of conscious experience, "agnosticism towards another" (a softened version of solipsism), which has often been levelled against empirical methodologies, as empiricism would be a pointless undertaking in a world where individuals are separate islands where generalizations cannot occur. Derrida stated that no

> …animal or human individual inhabit[s] the same world as another, however close and similar these living individuals may be…. between my world and any other world there is first the space and the time of an infinite difference, an interruption that is incommensurable with all attempts to make a passage, a bridge, an isthmus, all attempts at communication, translation, trope, and transfer that the desire for a world or the want of a world, the being wanting a world will try to pose, impose, propose, stabilize. There is no world there are only islands.[88]

Taken out of context, this quote becomes strongly agnostic towards the existence of others. My intention is not to criticize Derrida, but rather to present a quote that has often been used to advocate for agnosticism toward others in post-structuralist methodologies. This agnosticism is also something that classical empirical methodologies employing Cartesian mind-body separation have had a hard time defending against, which has led to the need to search for essentialisms, universally innate common abilities that allow communication between infinitely separated islands. I counter Derrida's argument with the more recent embodied perspective of *Being Singular Plural* by Jean-Luc Nancy, which I feel is much more pertinent regarding questions of conscious experience.

> That which exists, whatever this might be, coexists because it exists. The co-implication of existing [l'exister] is the sharing of the world. A world is not something external to existence; it is not an extrinsic addition to other existences; the world is the coexistence that puts these existences together… Kant established that there ex-

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85   Ezequiel Di Paolo and Hanne De Jaegher, *Towards an Embodied Science of Intersubjectivity: Widening the Scope of Social Understanding Research* (Frontiers Media SA, 2015).

86   Tia DeNora, *Making Sense of Reality: Culture and Perception in Everyday Life* (SAGE, 2014).

87   Hayles, *How We Became Posthuman*.

88   Jacques Derrida and Geoffrey Bennington, *The Beast and the Sovereign (Volume II)*, The Univer (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 8-9, par. 31.

ists something, exactly because I can think of a possible existence: but the possible comes second in relation to the real, because there already exists something real.[89]

There has been considerable evidence gathered by examining the mental stress, increases of hallucination, and psychiatric morbidity from solitary confinement of prisoners,[90] as well as developmental delays seen in neglected children in Romanian orphanages,[91] which suggests regular social interactions in the world are important for having a firm grip on reality.

Similarly, the possibility for communication exists due to the real existing prior to us confabulating a reified sense of self. In regards to emotional communication, basic facial emotional expressions have long been considered to be universal,[92] but recent research suggests that different individuals enact these emotions in different ways, using slightly different combinations of muscles to create smiles and frowns.[93] Additionally, Neal and Chartrand have reported that when people are asked to recognize the facial expressions of others, this act triggers a mirrored muscular response on their own face. Furthermore, the subjects in this experiment who had previously undergone botox injections had a reduced ability to move their own facial muscles and similarly had a decreased ability to correctly categorize facial emotional expressions of others.[94]

A compelling argument for embodied cognition is that while Cartesian thinking can often struggle to escape solipsism, embodied cognition already starts with individuals in the world.

At this point, I will discuss the psychological research of emotions in terms of enactivism, music sociology, posthumanism, and actor-network theory.

Enactivism

Enactivism, with its five supporting concepts of autonomy (autopoiesis), sense-making, embodiment, emergence, and experience,[95] has direct links to constructivist psychology and constructive theories of emotion. Enactivism presents a hypothesis of par-

89   Jean-Luc Nancy, Robert D. Richardson, and Anne E. O'Byrne, *Being Singular Plural* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 29.

90   Dorte Maria Sestoft et al., "Impact of Solitary Confinement on Hospitalization Among Danish Prisoners in Custody," *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 21, no. 1 (1998): 99–108, doi:10.1016/S0160-2527(97)00025-3; Stuart Grassian and Nancy Friedman, "Effects of Sensory Deprivation in Psychiatric Seclusion and Solitary Confinement," *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 8, no. 1 (January 1986): 49–65, doi:10.1016/0160-2527(86)90083-X.

91   Sara J. Morison, Elinor W. Ames, and Kim Chisholm, "The Development of Children Adopted From Romanian Orphanages," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (1995): 411–30.

92   Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (London: John Murray, 1872).

93   Y. I. Tian, T. Kanade, and J. F. Cohn, "Recognizing Action Units for Facial Expression Analysis," *IEEE Transactions on Pattern Analysis and Machine Intelligence* 23, no. 2 (February 2001): 97–115, doi:10.1109/34.908962.

94   David T. Neal and Tanya L. Chartrand, "Embodied Emotion Perception Amplifying and Dampening Facial Feedback Modulates Emotion Perception Accuracy," *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 2, no. 6 (November 2011): 673–78, doi:10.1177/1948550611406138.

95   Hanne De Jaegher and Ezequiel Di Paolo, "Participatory Sense-Making," *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences* 6, no. 4 (October 2007): 485–507, doi:10.1007/s11097-007-9076-9.

ticipatory sense-making, in which the autonomous individual takes an active role in enacting the world, sustaining its identity under precarious conditions (where loss of operational closure leads to death), and whereby coupling between the emergent processes of its existence and environment lead to adaptation.[96] Enactivism is very much at odds with many of the historical philosophical positions, including Plato's allegory of the cave,[97] in which an individual is only able to see shadows on the wall and not the true forms due to the limits of the senses, or Locke's passive perception, through which one passively receives ideas.[98] Instead, enactivism embraces the role of the body as part of the autonomous subject in constant material flux, and the active role it takes in constructing meaning in the world. "Individual acts during [an] interaction are subject to a double normative framework: they are, on the one hand, part of individual sense-making, and, on the other, they are moves in the unfolding of the interactive encounter."[99] This double normative framework aligns well with Nancy's idea of being singular plural, showing sense-making as necessarily occurring on multiple levels.

Music Sociology

Much of the literature in music sociology on musical emotions has been speculative rather than empirical, as there has not been a long history of recognizing emotions in music. This has been due either to scholars not believing that music has a potential to elicit emotional responses in listeners, or the belief that emotional listening was an abdication of reason.[100] Connected with this, there have historically existed ethically correct modes of attending to music to allow proper appreciation. DeNora has stated that:

> listening is too often de-historicised in a way that imposes the model of the (historically specific) silent and respectful listener as a given. Within this assumption, the body of the listener is excised. And yet, such listening involves a high degree of bodily discipline (e.g., stillness, the suppression of coughing, talk, laughter).[101]

These prescribed ethics of listening seem to be attempting to impose a universal perspective, erasing the body and minimizing the history and location from the listening experience, possibly as an argument in support of a universalized appeal of a select canon of composers that should be revered everywhere and always. Music sociology warns against erasing the variability of human emotional experience in an attempt to find universal emotional experiences.

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96   Ibid.
97   Plato, G M A Grube, and C D C Reeve, *Republic* (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co., 1992).
98   John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, First Amer, vol. II (Boston: David Carlisle, 1803).
99   Ezequiel Di Paolo, "Participatory Object Perception," *Journal of Consciousness Studies* in press (2016): 19.
100 Tia DeNora, *After Adorno: Rethinking Music Sociology* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).
101 Ibid, 84.

Posthumanism

Posthumanism often argues for decentering research away from favouring conscious anthropocentric experience that encourages the idea that the human race is unique and exceptional. This does not attempt to equate music listening practices in humans to those in other species, nor to equate human emotional experiences with those in other species. Instead, posthumanism endeavours to situate the human in its environment, sharing vulnerabilities, co-evolving with other species, and being constituted by and constitutive of other organisms and machines.[102]

> As we move deeper into a highly technological regime and as the technological infrastructure surrounding us becomes more and more complex, it becomes increasingly obvious that human agency cannot ever be seen in isolation from the systems with which humans are in constant and constitutive interaction. In fact, the idea that human agency is paramount appears to be an illusion; as Bruno Latour and others have pointed out, it is a good corrective to see agency as distributed among both human and non-human entities.[103]

Similarly, posthumanism considers the notion that consciousness is the driving force of experience to be an illusion. Hayles argues that nonconscious decision-making processes may be superior to cognitive thought processes due to the serial cognitive constraints in cognitive processing as well as other cognitive constraints that arise as a result of attempting to deliver coherent conscious experiences.[104] Since we are interested in how individuals construct their experiences, and if conscious experience is only part of this picture, then should we adjust research methodologies to reflect this?

The difficulty with this problem is that nonconscious processes are not feeling states.[105] As a result, to get the whole picture, we must address both the nonconscious and conscious aspects of emotional experience. This is supported by research suggesting that treatments for anxiety disorders, ptsd, or addiction are greatly enhanced by addressing both the conscious and nonconscious aspects.[106]

There is a further difficulty for artistic experience. Some thinkers, such as Dennett[107] and LeDoux[108] place a high value on one's ability to give a verbal report of an experi-

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102 Pramod K. Nayar, *Posthumanism* (Cambridge: John Wiley & Sons, 2014).

103 Holger Pötzsch and N. Katherine Hayles, "FCJ-172 Posthumanism, Technogenesis, and Digital Technologies: A Conversation with N. Katherine Hayles," *The Fibreculture Journal*, no. 23 2014: General Issue (2014).

104 N. Katherine Hayles, "Cognition Everywhere: The Rise of the Cognitive Nonconscious and the Costs of Consciousness," *New Literary History* 45, no. 2 (2014): 199–220,299; This is also supported in Christoph Engel and Wolf Singer, *Better Than Conscious?: Decision Making, the Human Mind, and Implications for Institutions* (MIT Press, 2008).

105 "although innate circuits that are relevant to feelings of fear and anxiety do exist, they are not feeling circuits (circuits that encode conscious feeling of fear or anxiety) but rather survival circuits (circuits that control behaviors that help organisms survive and thrive in the face of challenges and opportunities in life)." LeDoux, *Anxious*, 162.

106 LeDoux, *Anxious*.

107 Daniel C. Dennett, "Real Patterns," *The Journal of Philosophy* 88, no. 1 (1991): 27–51, doi:10.2307/2027085.

108 LeDoux, *Anxious*.

ence for it to be considered a valid conscious experience. As artistic experience both elicits and eludes conceptualization according to Heidegger, I propose that only focusing on the reflective verbally reportable aspect of consciousness impoverishes our understanding of artistic emotions.[109] Following this, Thompson and colleagues state that "phenomenologists emphasize that most of experience is lived through unreflectively and inattentively, with only a small portion being thematically or attentively given."[110] This is well supported by the work of Al Bregman, who spent much of his career studying auditory scene analysis. Bregman researched how sound perceptually either grouped together or split apart into auditory streams, and found that the most transformative effect on how the stream was processed was whether it was foregrounded or backgrounded in the listener's mind.[111] With that said, Bregman's research also supports the notion that both the foreground and background musical elements are consciously experienced by a listener. Koelsch and colleagues suggest that the reflection that gives rise to the possibility for verbal report follows after the (prereflected) emotional percept is experienced.[112] As a result, they also advocate for a separation between emotional feelings (the part of the experience that reaches reflective consciousness), emotional percepts (pre-reflective consciousness), and nonconscious emotional processes. Furthermore, they state that music "can evoke sensations (e.g., due to emotional contagion) which, *before* they are reconfigured into words, bear greater inter-individual correspondence than the words that an individual uses to describe these sensations."[113] Studying emotional percepts as well as emotional feelings in response to music might thus give more generalizable results.

Kragel and LaBar have presented a good example of using supervised multivariate pattern classification to find patterns in nonconscious processing that are constitutive of emotional feelings reported in music.[114] I think it will be valuable to continue to work in this way to study the different patterns found in response to different emotional contexts (e.g. nonconcious processes that are constitutive of emotions in response to film versus those in response to music). Furthermore, although this will need to be a slow rigorous hermeneutical investigation that slowly builds up knowledge, I also feel it will be valuable to introduce unsupervised learning methods for finding patterns in nonconscious processes constitutive of emotional experiences. These methods will have less predictive power as they will take more time to reduce the number of uninformative inputs present in the algorithm. However, I feel that this methodology can also reduce some of the domination of the verbal report over other aspects of the emotional experience by removing the verbal report as the source of the

109 K Harries, *Art Matters: A Critical Commentary on Heidegger's "The Origin of the Work of Art,"* 2009 ed. (Springer, 2011).
110 Evan Thompson, Antoine Lutz, and Diego Cosmelli, "Neurophenomenology: An Introduction for Neurophilosophers," ed. Andrew Brook and Kathleen Akins (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 59.
111 Albert S Bregman, *Auditory Scene Analysis : The Perceptual Organization of Sound* (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: MIT Press, 1990).
112 Koelsch et al., "The Quartet Theory of Human Emotions."
113 Ibid., 20.
114 Kragel and LaBar, "Multivariate Neural Biomarkers of Emotional States Are Categorically Distinct."

supervision. This type of methodology transitions well to A.N.T., for Latour has stated that "the acronym A.N.T. was perfectly fit for a blind, myopic, workaholic, trail-sniffing, and collective traveller."[115]

Actor Network Theory

For many, the work of Latour pursues a narrow bridge connecting humanities research with a pragmatic model of scientific enquiry. Similarly, my goal in this paper has been to present a narrow walkway that aims between the chasms of solipsism on one side and naïve realism on the other. For the most part, I find that the pragmatic empirical methodologies as designed by Charles Sanders Peirce already match well with Bruno Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT). Peirce stated, in what has become the pragmatic maxim, "Consider what effects, that might conceivably have practical bearings, we conceive the object of our conception to have. Then, our conception of these effects is the whole of our conception of the object."[116] We can achieve clarity in our inquiries and investigations when we can identify the practical consequences of our concepts and methodologies.

In *We Have Never Been Modern*,[117] Latour proposes that many of the ideas developed during the Enlightenment are not conducive towards the development of new theories and research methodologies. However, these Enlightenment principles have embedded themselves and become buried into "common sense"[118] notions of experience that need to be identified and removed before we can develop new methods of research. For me, this is a central reason for using ANT, bringing to light these hidden strategies that are no longer useful, and also helping us to not overestimate the capabilities of the machines we use to collect data. Machines can become extensions of ourselves, and therefore we can miss the biases that they also bring when they collect data.[119] When we follow ANT, we can pay attention to their actions, and see the mediations that they cause.

> The quality of science reference . . . depends . . . on the extent of its transformations, the safety of its connections, the progressive accumulation of its mediations, the numbers of interlocutors it engages, its ability to make nonhumans accessible to words, its capacity to interest and convince others, and its routine institutionalization of these flows…There do not exist true statements that correspond to a state of affairs and false statements that do not, but only continuous or interrupted reference.[120]

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115   Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (OUP Oxford, 2007), 9.
116   Charles Sanders Peirce, "How to Make Our Ideas Clear," 1878, 293.
117   Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Harvard University Press, 2012).
118   Similarly, Einstein stated that "**common sense is actually nothing more than a deposit of prejudices laid down in the mind prior to the age of eighteen.**" Lincoln Barnett, *The Universe and Dr. Einstein.* (New York: Mentor Books, 1948), 58.
119   Eran Shifferman, "More Than Meets the fMRI: The Unethical Apotheosis of Neuroimages," *Details Journal of Cognition and Neuroethics (ISSN: 2166-5087). September, 2015* 3, no. 2 (2015): 57–116.
120   Bruno Latour, *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Harvard University Press, 1999), 97.

Conclusion

By taking a constructivist viewpoint, I can understand that each of my individual modes of perception are biased in some way or another. Following animal ethology, to improve my chances of being able to trust that my perceptions are correct, I can build patterns of responses to stimuli that contain unique information from each of the senses.[121] These responses are not correlated against one another to become single data points in time, but rather are kept as patterns of embodied data. Over time, through processes of induction, my mind can develop strategies for using these patterns to be used against new sensory data from new situations to make abstractions of appropriate responses. Similarly, in social situations, I can adjust my abstractions by comparing them against those of individuals that I trust. In research situations, similar strategies can apply. I can bring in data from multiple sources, such as heart-rate variability,[122] breathing-rate variability and skin conductance, [123] eye-tracking and pupil size,[124] EEG,[125] fMRI,[126] and subject response.[127] These cannot be directly correlated against one another, but abstractions can be made that can allow for multiple interpretations of the data; similarities and differences of individual strategies for encountering a range of stimuli, group abstractions for comparing the strategies for how one might change their strategy for encountering different types of stimuli, and so forth. In the end, this is a pragmatic methodology. It does not worry about whether the abstractions are essential truths, but rather whether they are functional as patterns that have some level of generalizability. Although I do not think that subjective responses need to be a central data point that all other means of collecting data encircle, I think that, even though these subjective responses might have aspects of confabulation, and they do not have access to the mechanisms underlying their phenomenological experience, other measures can not stand in for them. When we treat our data as embodied patterns, not reducing them to abstract information, not reducing variability for the sake of universal Platonic forms, and investigating on multiple levels the possibilities of meaning-making, then and only then can we begin to address questions of embodied emotional experiences in music.

121 David Huron, "Affect Induction through Musical Sounds: An Ethological Perspective," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London B: Biological Sciences* 370, no. 1664 (March 2015): 20140098, doi:10.1098/rstb.2014.0098.

122 Julian F. Thayer et al., "A Meta-Analysis of Heart Rate Variability and Neuroimaging Studies: Implications for Heart Rate Variability as a Marker of Stress and Health," *Neuroscience & Biobehavioral Reviews* 36, no. 2 (February 2012): 747–56, doi:10.1016/j.neubiorev.2011.11.009.

123 Valorie N Salimpoor et al., "The Rewarding Aspects of Music Listening Are Related to Degree of Emotional Arousal," *PLoS ONE* 4, no. 10 (2009): e7487–e7487.

124 Bruno Gingras et al., "The Eye Is Listening: Music-Induced Arousal and Individual Differences Predict Pupillary Responses," *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* 9 (November 2015), doi:10.3389/fnhum.2015.00619.

125 Eckart Altenmüller et al., "Play It Again, Sam: Brain Correlates of Emotional Music Recognition," *Frontiers in Psychology* 5 (February 2014), doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2014.00114.

126 Kragel and LaBar, "Multivariate Neural Biomarkers of Emotional States Are Categorically Distinct."

127 Barrett, "Navigating the Science of Emotion."

Abstract

Recently, there has been a considerable expansion of psychological research that attempts to study the impact of music on experienced or felt emotion. Since this research area is relatively young, the field is fractured with many competing theories on the best methods to measure emotional responses in listeners. Many of these theories search for universal emotional essences and cause-and-effect relationships that often result in erasing the body from these experiences. Still, after reducing these emotional responses to discrete categories or localized brain functions, these theories have not been very successful in finding universal emotional essence in response to music. In this paper, I argue that we need to bring the body back into this research, to allow for listener variability, and include multiple levels of focus to help find meaningful relationships of emotional responses. I also appeal to interdisciplinary research, to further develop these empirical research questions.

MARIT JOHANNE HØYE

Sequence Melodies in Icelandic and Norwegian Manuscripts

This study is concerned with melodic variability in chants notated in manuscripts in medieval Nidaros. The archdiocese of Nidaros was established in the medieval town of Nidaros in 1152-53 and lasted until 1537. At its greatest extent, the archdiocese consisted of mainland Norway, Iceland, Greenland, The Faroe Islands, the Orkney Islands, the Western Isles of Scotland and the Isle of Man.

The surviving Nidaros manuscripts are a varied group of sources. Some manuscripts were imported from England or the Continent while many younger manuscripts were written in Scandinavia, in local scriptoria. Chant books and manuscripts that were in use in the archdiocese of Nidaros in the medieval ages only survive in fragmented form.[1] Thus, most liturgical chants themselves survive only in part within these now fragmented pages of manuscripts that once were in use in Nidaros.

In the mainland European tradition, a medieval chant is often notated with small melodic or textual variations particular to the Anglo-French, or former west Frankish, area or the German-speaking, or former east Frankish, area. Such variations have been shown to be quite consistent with, and particular to, manuscripts from one of the two areas.

Sequence chants notated in Nidaros manuscripts show melodic influences from different geographical regions. Lilli Gjerløw considered the Nidaros repertory of sequences a fusion of west Frankish and east Frankish traditions.[2] Previous research has focused on her hypothesis of "dual transmission" in which repertoire reached Nidaros in two separate streams, one German and one Anglo-French, and where a blending of the two traditions took place after they reached Scandinavia. According to this hypothesis, this blending produced melodic and textual features unique to the Nidaros repertory.

In recent research, I differ from this hypothesis by identifying more detailed relationships between melodic transmissions in Nidaros fragments and in manuscripts from mainland Europe. I have identified how and in what way individual manuscripts from the 'zone of transition', or areas in the northeast part of France, the Low

1   See also Gunnar I. Pettersen, "From Parchment Books to Fragments: Norwegian Medieval *Codices* Before and After the Reformation," in *Latin Manuscripts of Medieval Norway. Studies in Memory of Lilli Gjerløw*, ed. Espen Karlsen (Oslo: Novus Press 2013), 41-66.
2   Lilli Gjerløw, ed., *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*. Libri liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis medii aevi, vol. 2 (Oslo: Norsk Kjeldeskrift-Institutt, 1968), 433.

Countries and the northwest part of Germany,[3] often mix regional melodic features independently from one another.[4] Then, a case study on the sequence *Iohannes Iesu Christo* produced evidence to support the notion that mixed melodic traditions found in Nidaros manuscripts were, in fact, imported from regions on the mainland. This study suggests that the melodic blending did not happen in Nidaros and that it was by no means unique to this region. Instead, surviving melodic variants in the Nidaros transmission of *Iohannes Iesu Christo* bear witness to contact between medieval Nidaros and regions in or near the 'zone of transition'.[5] The notion of monolithic "German" and "Anglo-French" practices can thus be further refined to reveal regional differences and chronological layers that may be helpful in analysing sequence transmission. In three earlier studies, I demonstrated how this applies also to sequences in the Nidaros tradition.[6]

In early research on Nidaros sequence melodies, Erik Eggen posited that there is a significant difference between the Norwegian and the Icelandic sequence manuscripts: "The sequences of Norway speak strongly of a connection with France and England while those of Iceland mainly show a similar dependence on Germany."[7] In her doctoral dissertation of 1998, Gisela Attinger also asks whether Icelandic manuscripts preserve a different tradition from the Norwegian ones. Attinger examines a different chant genre, the antiphons, and she finds that five of her six Icelandic manuscripts differ frequently from the Norwegian fragments with regard to the antiphon melodies.[8] On the other hand, the Icelandic melody variants do not show close relationships with melodies transmitted through any of the non-Nidaros sources she uses for comparison.[9] More recently, Alison Altstatt and Caitlin Snyder examine the sequence *Clare sanctorum* in seven Nidaros sources. They find that two manuscripts from Iceland

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3   The area is named "la Zone de Transition" in Gunilla Björkvall, Gunilla Iversen, Ritva Jonsson, eds., *Tropes du proper de la messe 2; Cycle de Pāques*, Corpus Troporum III. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 25 (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1982), 33. See also the map in Gunilla Iversen, *Tropes de l'Agnus Dei*. Corpus Troporum IV. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 26 (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1980), 26.

4   Marit Høye, "Melodic Identity of Sequences in Pa 833" (Paper presented at the 19th Congress of the International Musicological Society, Rome, July 1-8, 2012).

5   Marit Høye, "Melodic Identity in Fragmented Nidaros Sources: The Transmission of Notker's Sequence *Iohannes Iesu Christo*," in *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 40 (2014): 153.

6   Marit Høye, "The Sequence *Sancti Spiritus* in the Nidaros Tradition," in *Cantus Planus Study Group of the International Musicological Society. Papers read at the 16th meeting. Vienna, Austria, 2011*, ed. Robert Klugseder (Wien: Verlag Brüder Hollinek 2012), 168-177, Marit Høye, "Sequences of German Origin at Nidaros", in *XVI Nordic Musicological Congress, Stockholm 2012: Proceedings*, eds. Jacob Derkert and Peder Kaj Pedersen (Stockholm University: 2014), 248-267, (Link: diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:770575/FULLTEXT02.pdf), and Høye, "Melodic Identity in Fragmented", 139-161.

7   Erik Eggen, *The Sequences of the Archbishopric of Nidaros*, vol. 1, Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 21-22 (København: Munksgaard, 1968), xxi. He points out, however, that not all of the manuscripts testify to this difference, see Eggen, *Sequences*, vol. 1., xxi-xxvi and 82.

8   Gisela Attinger, *A comparative study of chant melodies from fragments of the lost Nidaros Antiphoner*, Dr. art. dissertation (University of Oslo, 1998), 304-305 and 318.

9   Attinger remarks, however, that the representative spread of her selection of non-Nidaros sources can be questioned. Further, she points out that sources from the north of Germany are absent from her investigation. See Attinger, *A comparative*, 120.
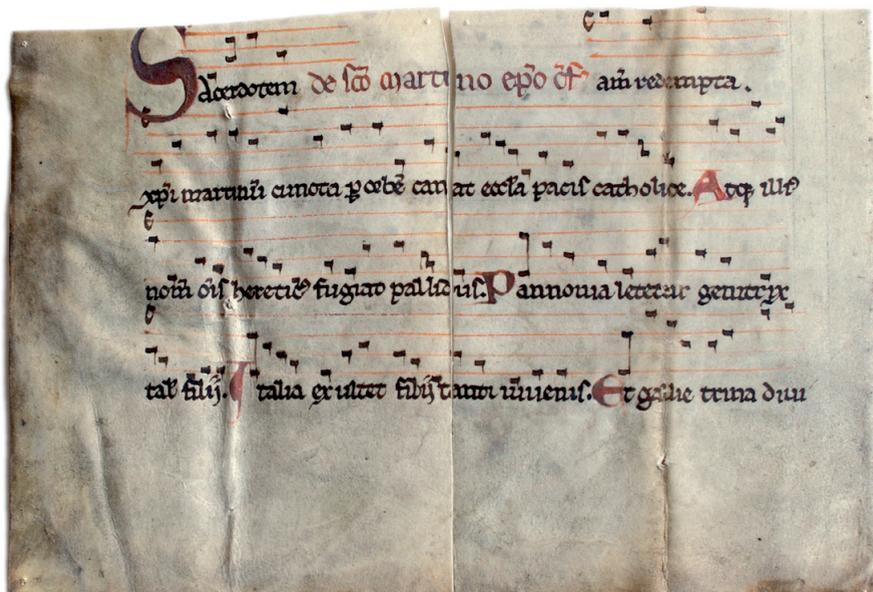
Figure 1. N-Ora 418, fol. 2v; *Sacerdotem Christi*, phrases 1-3. The National Archives of Norway; Lat. fragm. 418 1-46, 1-2v.

adhere to German traditions with regard to their sequence text while two Norwegian sources transmit Anglo-French features with the same text.[10]

In this article, I wish to explore further the assumption that there is a difference between the Norwegian and the Icelandic sources and, more specifically, I wish to examine whether Icelandic manuscripts transmit more German features with their sequence melodies. In order to examine the musical traditions of Iceland and mainland Norway and their relationship to each other, I will discuss four sequences and their surviving manuscripts in Nidaros. The sequence *Sacerdotem Christi* provides an interesting opening.

Sacerdotem Christi

The sequence *Sacerdotem Christi*[11] survived in two manuscripts from Nidaros: the Icelandic DK-Kar 1[12] from the fifteenth century; and the thirteenth-century Norwegian N-Ora 418 (see Figure 1). By comparative analyses of the sequence melody as found

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10   Three of the seven sources remain indeterminate with regard to their text. See Alison Altstatt and Caitlin Snyder, '*Oriens et occidens, immo teres mundi circulus*: Notker's *Clare sanctorum* in the German, Anglo-French, and Nidaros Traditions', in *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory & Its European Context*, ed. Lori Kruckenberg and Andreas Haug (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2006), 230-232. Altstatt and Snyder consider the sequence melody to feature a combination of both older-German and Western melodic dialects in Nidaros manuscripts. In this article, I take a fresh look at the melody of *Clare sanctorum*.
11   Text edited in Clemens Blume and Henry Bannister eds., *Thesauri hymnologici prosarium: Die Sequenzen des Thesaurus Hymnologicus H. A. Daniels und anderer Sequenzenausgaben. Analecta hymnica medii aevi* 53 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1911), nr 181.
12   I use the RISM library sigla to refer to manuscripts in this study.

Example 1 *Sacerdotem Christi* from GB-Ob 5.

in manuscripts from different regions in Europe, I have identified seven points of regional variability within it.[13] Example 1 shows a transcription of *Sacerdotem Christi* from York (GB-Ob 5) where the melodic motives that vary between Anglo-French and German traditions are marked with boxes. In Example 2, I compare these seven points of melodic variance in the fifteenth-century English GB-Ob 5 to a manuscript that shows the German melodic tradition with this chant (fourteenth-century D-Mbs 19267 from Regensburg). The Anglo-French and the German variants are then compared with the two Nidaros sources, N-Ora 418 and DK-Kar 1.

13   See Høye, "Sequences," 250-251 and 253.

Example 2 Points of melodic variation in *Sacerdotem Christi*, Phrases 1a, 1b, 2, 3, 4 and 9.

Considering the prevalent view regarding different influences on Norwegian and Icelandic manuscripts discussed above, one would expect the Icelandic manuscript to preserve the sequence melody with German variants while the Norwegian manuscript fragment would adhere to an Anglo-French melodic tradition. Transcriptions of

the melody in the two Nidaros sources show, however, that the Icelandic DK-Kar 1 preserves this melody with Anglo-French features. The Norwegian N-Ora 418, on the other hand, preserves the melody of this sequence with both German and Anglo-French features within its surviving phrases.[14]

It is interesting to see that an initial examination of the two manuscript fragments points in a different direction than what has previously been assumed. Next, I will examine the sequence *Eia recolamus*.

Eia recolamus

The fifteenth-century Icelandic manuscript DK-Kar 1 also transmits the sequence *Eia recolamus*[15] and Example 3 shows a transcription of the chant from the Icelandic source. To identify regional variations in this melody, I have examined the sequence in the sources listed in Table 1. Through synoptic analyses, I have then identified eight points of melodic variation particular to Anglo-French manuscripts and to manuscripts from the German-speaking area, in this sequence.

Table 1: Manuscripts Consulted for *Eia recolamus*

Manuscript	Provenance	
GB-Cu 710	Dublin	xiii
F-Pn 10508	Normandy	xii
F-Pn 904	Rouen	xiii
F-LG 2	Fontevroult	xiii
F-RS 227	Reims	xii
F-RS 264	Reims	xiii
F-RS 285	Reims	xv/xvi
F-CHUm 45	Montier-en-Der	xiii
F-CA 61	Lille	xii
F-LA 263	Laon	xii/xiii
F-Pn 833	St. Stephan at Arne	xii
F-VN 130	Verdun	xiv
F-VN 759	Verdun	xiii
F-VN 100	Verdun	xv
F-Pn 10511	Auxerre	xii
D-KNd 220	Köln?	xvi
D-KNd 226	unknown(Köln?)	xiv
D-DÜsl 19	Düsseldorf	xv
D-LEu 391	Leipzig	xiii
A-Wn 15501	Kuttenberg	xv/xvi
CH-SGs 546	St. Gall	xvi
CH-SGs 383	Lausanne	xiii

14   In N-Ora 418, four of the seven melodic motives shown in Example 2, the first motive of phrase 1 together with phrases 2, 3 and 9, comply with GB-Ob 5 and the Anglo-French melodic tradition. The second motive of phrase 1 is, however, notated in accordance with the German melodic tradition represented by D-Mbs 19267 (the second motive of phrase 3 and the variant in phrase 4 did not survive in N-Ora 418).

15   Text edited in Blume and Bannister, *Analecta hymnica* 53, nr 16.

1   E- ia, re-co-la-mus lau-di-bus pi-is di-gna

2a   Hu-ius di- e- i car-mi-na, in qua no-bis lux o- ri-tur   gra- is- si-ma,
2b   No-ctis in-ter-it ne-bu-la, per-e-unt no-stri   cri-mi-nis um-bra-cu-la.

3a   Ho- di- e   sae-cu- lo ma- ris stel-la est e- ni- xa no-vae sa-lu-tis gau-di-a,
3b   Quem tre-munt ba-ra-thra, mors cru-en-ta, ᴄpa-vet i- psa, a quo per-i-bit mor-tu-a;

4a   Ge-mit ca-pta pe-stis an-ti-qua, co-lu-ber li-vi-dus per-dit spo-li-a;
4b   Ho-mo la-psus, o-vis ab-du-cta re-vo-ca-tur ad ae-ter-na gau-di-a.

5a   Gau-dent in hac di- e   ag-mi-na an-ge-lo-rum cae-le-sti-a,
5b   Qui-a   e-rat dra-gma de-ci-ma per-di-ta et est in-ven-ta.

6a   O cul-pa ni- mi-um be- a- ta, qua re-dem-pta est na-tu-ra!
6b   De-us, qui cre- a-vit om-ni-a, na-sci-tur ex   fe-mi-na.

7a   Mi-ra- bi-lis na-tu- ra, mi-ri- fi- ce in- du- ta, as-su-mens, quod non e-rat,
7b   In- du- i- tur na-tu- ra di- vi- ni-tas hu-ma-na. Quis au-di- vit   ta- li- a,

        ma-nens, quod e-rat,
        dic, ro- go, fa-cta?

8a   Quae-re-re ve-ne-rat pa-stor pi-us, quod per-i-e-rat;
8b   In- du- it   ga-le-am, cer-tat ut mi-les ar-ma-tu-ra.

9a   Pro-stra-tus in su- a pro-pri-a ru- it ho-stis spi-cu-la; au-fe-run-tur te-la,
9b   In qui-bus fi- de-bat; di- vi-sa sunt il-li- us spo-li- a ca-pta prae-da su-a.

10a   Chri-sti pu-gna for-tis-si-ma sa-lus no-stra est ve-ra;
10b   Qui nos su-am ad pa-tri-am du-xit post vi-cto-ri-am,

11   In qua si-bi laus est ae-ter-na.   A- men.

Example 3 *Eia recolamus* from DK-Kar 1.

Example 4 *Eia recolamus*, phrases 1-5.

Example 4 shows the first half of the melody, and five of the eight points of variance, in one French manuscript (F-Pn 10508 from the late twelfth century and representing an Anglo-French melodic tradition) and one fifteenth-century German manuscript (D-DÜsl 19 representing a German melodic tradition).[16]

Also with this chant, the Icelandic manuscript transmits Anglo-French variants throughout, corresponding to the manuscript F-Pn 10508 in Example 4. With one exception: The second motive in phrase 5 is a variant that is mainly used in German

16   I only mark the differences that appear between the main groups of manuscripts in the two traditions. There are still individual differences between the two melodic transcriptions that are only found in this or in a few more manuscripts. Such differences are not accounted for here.

sources, corresponding to D-DÜsl 19 in Example 4. The motive is, however, also found in thirteenth-century F-VN 759 and fifteenth-century F-VN 100 from Verdun in the northeast part of France, in twelfth-century F-Pn 10511 from Auxerre, and in a thirteenth-century manuscript from Dublin, GB-Cu 710. With this second sequence chant of DK-Kar 1, then, the melody still suggests an influence on the manuscript from Anglo-French regions but points more directly towards eastern France, or possibly the British Islands.

Eia recolamus survives in three more Nidaros sources: N-Ora 336 and N-Ora 1101 from mainland Norway and DK-Kk-NKS 138-4 from sixteenth-century Iceland. When compared to the synoptic transcriptions, we get the following result: The early thirteenth-century manuscript N-Ora 336 transmits its five surviving points of variance with Anglo-French melodic features. The fifteenth-century manuscript N-Ora 1101 transmits its four surviving points of variance with German melodic features and the Icelandic source DK-Kk-NKS 138-4 transmits all eight points of variance with German melodic features.

Thus, in their transmission of *Eia recolamus*, one manuscript from Iceland and one from mainland Norway show relationships with Anglo-French sources and one Norwegian and one Icelandic manuscript show relationships with German melodic traditions.

Clare sanctorum

The melody of *Clare sanctorum*[17] is preserved in two Icelandic manuscripts – the already discussed DK-Kar 1 and DK-Kar 2 – both from the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The chant is also notated in a fragmented fifteenth-century manuscript from Norway, N-Ora 952, in thirteenth-century N-Ora 418, and in a fifteenth-century manuscript that is now supposed to be of Swedish origin, N-Ora 627.

Clare sanctorum has a wide international transmission. The sequence has previously been analysed by Alison Altstatt and Caitlin Snyder.[18] Altstatt and Snyder find that the Nidaros sources transmit a combination of German melodic dialects with more Western melodic types and tentatively conclude that their study "offers an extra layer of evidence affirming Gjerløw's original assessment of Nidaros as a fusing of Western and German traditions".[19] They view the fragmented Nidaros manuscripts as a group and state that a combination of a Western versicle division type, type X3, and the blending of Anglo-French and German melodic features found in the Nidaros manuscripts "affirms some element of English influence over the archdiocese as a whole".[20]

I have re-examined Altstatt and Snyders findings for the Nidaros manuscripts, viewing each manuscript not as part of a group, but separately.[21] This gives the following result:

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17   Text edited in Blume and Bannister, *Analecta hymnica* 53, nr 228.
18   Altstatt and Snyder focus on versicle division typologies but also discuss regional melodic variants that relate to Anglo-French or German traditions with this sequence. See Altstatt and Snyder, "*Oriens et occidens*", 182-240.
19   Altstatt and Snyder, "*Oriens et occidens*", 232.
20   Altstatt and Snyder, "*Oriens et occidens*", 231.
21   For melodic transcriptions of all five manuscripts, see Altstatt and Snyder, "*Oriens et occidens*", 226-229. See also Table of versicle types, 231, and textual and melodic analyses, 224-232.

The Norwegian N-Ora 952 transmits Anglo-French melodic features in all of its five surviving phrases. N-Ora 418 transmits only a few tones in the opening of the chant and thus it is not possible to determine regional variants in this manuscript. The Swedish N-Ora 627 transmits only two phrases, but they give a clear German reading of the melody. N-Ora 627 should, however, not be viewed as part of a Norwegian-Icelandic group of manuscripts.[22] Thus, we are left with only one manuscript fragment from mainland Norway, N-Ora 952 which preserves Anglo-French features with both melody and versicle division type.[23]

The two Icelandic sources give a slightly different reading. DK-Kar 2[24] preserves all phrases of *Clare sanctorum* while only the first three phrases survive in DK-Kar 1.[25] The three phrases shared by the sources are, however, closely related. The first phrase in the Icelandic manuscripts gives a melody variant that is predominantly found in Germany but that is also notated in sources from northeast France and England. Analyses of *Sacerdotem Christi* and *Eia recolamus* above have already established a relationship with Anglo-French traditions for two of the sequences transmitted in DK-Kar 1. In a previous study, I identified Anglo-French melodic features in DK-Kar 1 with a third sequence, *Sancti spiritus*. With this sequence, the Icelandic source was shown to correspond closely to F-LA 263, a late twelfth-century manuscript from Laon in the northeast part of France.[26] This suggests to me that one should also examine the melody of *Clare sanctorum* in northeast French sources that were not examined by Altstatt and Snyder. I therefore include the following manuscripts: F-LA 263 from Laon, F-SMbm 73 from St. Mihiel (15th century), F-Pn 833[27] from St. Stephan-at-Arne (12th century), F-VN 130 from Verdun (14th century) and F-VN 98 from Metz (14th century). When assessing the melodic content of phrases 2 and 3 of *Clare sanctorum* in the Icelandic sources, we find a clear Anglo-French influence, as already noted by Altstatt and Snyder. When comparing the melody of DK-Kar 1 and DK-Kar 2 to manuscripts from the northeast part of France, however, we see that three of these, F-Pn 833, F-VN 130 and F-VN 98, share the melodic feature of combining a German-influenced phrase 1

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22 Altstatt and Snyder list N-Ora 627 as Scandinavian and seem to include the manuscript in the group as a possible Norwegian manuscript. More recently, Åslaug Ommundsen lists the source as Swedish based on palaeographic evidence (in Åslaug Ommundsen, *Books, scribes and sequences in medieval Norway*, 2 vols., PhD dissertation (University of Bergen, 2007), 33-36).

23 See Altstatt and Snyder, ″Oriens et occidens″, 225-231, for melodic transcription and analysis of *Clare sanctorum* in N-Ora 952. See also Table of versicle types, 231.

24 DK-Kar 2 is also referred to as *Graduale Gufudalense*, or GG, and this terminology is used by Altstatt and Snyder. In this study I use the RISM library sigla to list manuscripts throughout. Altstatt and Snyder have, however, confused the two Icelandic sources and list what is really source GG, as MSc. They also list the manuscript MSc as GG, in Altstatt and Snyder, ″Oriens et occidens″, 224-240. Thus, we find DK-Kar 2, or *Graduale Gufudalense*, listed as MSc in the analyses of Altstatt and Snyder.

25 *Missale Scardense*, or MSc, the manuscript DK-Kar 1 is listed (wrongly) as GG in Altstatt and Snyder, "Oriens et occidens", 224-240.

26 Høye, "The Sequence *Sancti Spiritus*", 170.

27 F-Pn 833 was consulted by Altstatt and Snyder and the versicle divison of *Clare sanctorum* was categorised to be of an older-German type. The melody, however, was not transcribed and melody variants in this source are not discussed in their study. See Altstatt and Snyder, ″Oriens et occidens″, 234 and 238.

with an Anglo-French-influenced phrase 2. Phrase 3 of the melody in the three north-east French manuscripts nevertheless adheres to the German tradition again, in con-trast to the third phrase notated in the Icelandic manuscripts. Further, all three manu-scripts transmit what Altstatt and Snyder refer to as an older-German versicle division type, type O2. According to Altstatt and Snyder, DK-Kar 2 also transmits versicle divi-sion type O2.[28] The English manuscript GB-Ob 5 corresponds to the three northeast French sources regarding the melodic shape of the first three phrases. GB-Ob 5 also transmits the same versicle division type as the northeast French and Icelandic sourc-es, the older-German type O2. Four other English sources on the other hand, trans-mit a melodic shape that corresponds closely to the melodic transmission shown in DK-Kar 1 and DK-Kar 2. These manuscripts do, however, transmit the other versicle division type, the western type X3.[29] Thus, the two Icelandic manuscripts show close correspondence with a small group of both northeast French and English sources, al-though they transmit small differences from them as well. So far then, in contrast to what was implied by Altstatt and Snyder, we do not have manuscript evidence to show that the combination of versicle division X3 and the blending of German and Anglo-French melodic features were in use at Nidaros. Between the few surviving Nidaros manuscripts, the Icelandic DK-Kar 1 and DK-Kar 2 are the only sources transmitting the blending of German and Anglo-French melodic features, and DK-Kar 2 preserves versicle division type O2, not the X3-type.

To conclude, both Icelandic manuscripts transmit the sequence *Clare sanctorum* with melodic features that point mainly to an Anglo-French influence but more specif-ically either towards the northeast part of France, where we find a blending of Anglo-French and German features, or to the British Islands.

Sancti Baptiste

The sequence *Sancti baptiste*[30] survived in one Norwegian and one Icelandic manu-script as well as in N-Ora 627, a manuscript that is now supposed to be of Swedish origin. None of the fragmented manuscripts preserves the full melody: N-Ora 418 from thirteenth-century Norway transmits phrases 1-3, the fifteenth-century Icelandic DK-Kar 241b transmits the last part of the melody, while N-Ora 627 transmits small pieces throughout the melody. *Sancti baptiste* has previously been analysed by Rebecca Maloy.[31] At the time, the manuscript N-Ora 627 was included as a possibly Norwe-gian source. Maloy summarises that Norwegian and Icelandic traditions both show a strong German influence with regard to this melody. The conclusion is reached even though she also points to Norman features, in particular in the text but also at some

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28   DK-Kar 1 remains indeterminate at this point, see Altstatt and Snyder, "*Oriens et occidens*", 231 and 234.
29   See Altstatt and Snyder, "*Oriens et occidens*", 231.
30   Text edited in Blume and Bannister, *Analecta hymnica* 53, nr 163.
31   See Rebecca Maloy, 'Poetry, Melody, and Mode: The Transmission of Notker's *Sancti baptiste*', in *The Sequences of Nidaros: A Nordic Repertory & Its European Context*, ed. Lori Kruckenberg and Andreas Haug (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2006), 233-272.

points in the melody. She does, however, characterise this blending of Norman and German features as unique to the Nidaros tradition.[32]

A new examination of the three fragments, built on a slightly different premise, differs to this conclusion. My premise is that the manuscripts do not represent Nidaros as a group but that they are individual fragments. Further, based on the new provenance given by Ommundsen in 2007, I view N-Ora 627 as a Swedish manuscript.[33] Individual analyses of the three manuscripts give the following results: The Swedish N-Ora 627 transmits a version of the melody that adheres closely to the German melodic tradition. Maloy previously compared Swedish manuscript fragments with *Sancti baptiste* and she found that most of the Swedish sources transmit an essentially German version of this sequence.[34] The melodic shape of *Sancti baptiste* in N-Ora 627 thus conforms well to other Swedish manuscripts.

The Norwegian N-Ora 418 on the other hand, transmits a blending of Anglo-French and German melodic features in the three phrases that survive with this melody: Phrases 1 and 3 transmit a melodic variant that is found also in French and English manuscripts, while phrase 2 transmits a German melodic variant. This should not, however, be viewed as a feature unique to this manuscript. Such a blending of regional features is in no way unique to Nidaros manuscripts and in several recent sequence studies I have shown how manuscripts from the northeast part of present-day France often transmit a blending of regional melodic features with sequence melodies.

I have therefore examined *Sancti baptiste* in seven manuscripts from this area: F-LA 263 from Laon, F-SMbm 73 from St Mihiel, F-Pn 833 from St. Stephan-at-Arne, F-VN 130 and F-VN 759 from Verdun, F-VN 98 from Metz, and GB-Lbl 18032 from Belgium. All seven manuscripts transmit the same blending of regional features within the first three phrases of *Sancti baptiste*, that we find with the melody in N-Ora 418. Thus, the melodic transmission in N-Ora 418 indicates a direct link to this region, situated in the middle of the old east Frankish and west Frankish area.[35]

The Icelandic DK-Kar 241b has been viewed as part of a small group of German influenced Nidaros-sources. The manuscript has been suggested as showing early German melodic features within this sequence, features that were later also included in French manuscripts.[36] The chant is notated in DK-Kar 241b with D-final instead of the more commonly used G-final and thus it relates modally to many German but also a few Anglo-French, sources.[37] The text, on the other hand, relates solely to French and English sources.[38]

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32   Maloy, "Poetry", 260-261.
33   Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 35.
34   Maloy, "Poetry", 259-260. See also list of Swedish manuscripts on page 272.
35   This corresponds well with Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 16. She suggested, based on paleographic evidence, that the scribe of N-Ora 418 was influenced from France and the Low Countries.
36   Maloy, "Poetry", 260-261.
37   See Table 4 in Maloy, "Poetry", 262. The English F-Pa 135 and two northeast French manuscripts (F-Pn 842 and F-Pa 595 from Châlons-sur-Marne) also preserve the D-final as well as the same pitch-level variants as DK-Kar 241b in phrases 6-9 of *Sancti baptiste*. Maloy does, however, show how such modal emendation was a theoretical concern among scribes at the time and she suggests that it was done locally in Iceland, Maloy, "Poetry", 263-268.
38   Maloy, "Poetry", 249.

Further, when examining the melody that survived in DK-Kar 241b as a unique transmission independent from other Nidaros manuscripts, we see that all six phrases of *Sancti baptiste* that survived in this fragmented manuscript in fact adhere to the Anglo-French melodic tradition.[39] A small melodic variant in the opening of phrase seven may point more specifically towards the British Isles since the variant is also found in GB-Cu 710 from Dublin, GB-Ob 5 from York and F-Pa 135[40] from London. But the variant is also notated in a manuscript from Verdun in northeast France, F-VN 759.

I therefore suggest that this fragment does not preserve an early German melodic tradition. Instead, I find that DK-Kar 241b preserves a melodic tradition from the former west Frankish area – a tradition that arrived in Nidaros either by way of the British Isles or from the northeast part of France.

Summary

The Icelandic DK-Kar 1 shows mostly Anglo-French melodic features within its sequence *Sacerdotem Christi*, while the Norwegian manuscript N-Ora 418 preserves more German melodic features with this chant. However, N-Ora 418 blends melodic features from the two traditions in a way that points to an influence from the northeast of France or the 'zone of transition'. Further, we have seen that all three Icelandic manuscripts, DK-Kar 1, DK-Kar 2 and DK-Kar 241b, sometimes transmit a blending of Anglo-French and German melodic traditions. More detailed analyses have revealed relationships between each of the three Icelandic sources and manuscripts from the northeast part of France and from the British Isles. The fourth Icelandic manuscript, DK-Kk-NKS 138-4, on the other hand, shows a clear German melodic reading within its sequence chant. The two Norwegian sources N-Ora 952 and N-Ora 336 transmit sequences with Anglo-French features, while N-Ora 1101 gives its surviving phrases of *Eia recolamus* with German melodic features.

This study shows that Icelandic manuscripts do not transmit a unified melody repertory that is distinct from sequence melodies notated in manuscripts from mainland Norway. Further, Icelandic manuscripts do not always preserve more German features than the Norwegian manuscripts. We have seen how the opposite also occurs in the transmission of *Eia recolamus*, where Norwegian source N-Ora 1101 shows a relationship with German traditions while Icelandic source DK-Kar 1 preserves an Anglo-French melodic tradition within this sequence.

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39   For a transcription of *Sancti baptiste* in DK-Kar 241b, and melody variants, see Maloy, "Poetry", 256-258. Note however, that Maloy transcribes the melody from the three manuscript fragments N-Ora 418, N-Ora 627 and DK-Kar 241b, on the same line. In phrase 5b this may create some confusion since the phrase is assigned to 'N-Ora 627/DK-Kar 241b'. The German melodic features in phrase 5 are, however, transcribed only from N-Ora 627. This part did not survive in DK-Kar 241b. See facsimiles of the two manuscript fragments in Eggen, *Sequences*, vol. 2, 33 and 126.

40   F-Pa 135 shows the variant only in phrase 7b. The manuscript does, however, share both the variant in phrase 7 as well as the pitch-level variants mentioned above, with DK-Kar 241b.

APPENDIX

Summary of Nidaros Manuscripts that preserve *Sacerdotem Christi*, *Eia recolamus*, *Clare sanctorum* and *Sancti baptiste*.

Manuscript	Provenance	Sequences
DK-Kar 1	Iceland, xv 3/4[41]	*Eia recolamus*
		Sacerdotem Christi
		Clare sanctorum
DK-Kar 2	Iceland, xv[42]	*Clare sanctorum*
DK-Kk-NKS 138-4	Iceland, xvi[43]	*Eia recolamus*
DK-Kar 241b	Iceland, xv[44]	*Sancti baptiste*
N-Ora 336	Norway, xiii[45]	*Eia recolamus*
N-Ora 418	Norway, xiii[46]	*Sancti baptiste*
		Sacerdotem Christi
		Clare sanctorum
N-Ora 627	Sweden(?), xv[47]	*Clare sanctorum*
		Sancti baptiste
N-Ora 952	Norway (?), xv[48]	*Clare sanctorum*
N-Ora 1101	Norway (?), xv[49]	*Eia recolamus*

41   Merete Geert Andersen, *Katalog over AM Accessoria 7: De latinske fragmenter*, Bibliotheca Arnamag-
     næana 46 (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels forlag, 2008), 3-9. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, vol. II, pl.
     199-218, 226-233, 279-294 and 310-312.
42   Geert Andersen, *Katalog*, 9-15. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 219-225, 234-259 and 313-316.
43   http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/17/dan/ (Manuscript online), fol. 55v-57r.
44   Eggen *Sequences*, I, xliii. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 188-191.
45   Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 18-22. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 40-47.
46   Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 13-17. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 1-39.
47   Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 33-36. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 58-67.
48   Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 61-64. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 86-93.
49   Ommundsen, *Books*, II, 27-32. Facsimile in Eggen, *Sequences*, II, pl. 52-55.

Abstract

Chants in the Nidaros repertory show influences from different geographical regions. Previous research focused on the hypothesis of "dual transmission" in which repertoire reached Nidaros in two separate streams, one German and one Anglo-French, and where a blending of the two traditions took place after they reached Scandinavia. In more recent studies, I nuance this view by demonstrating that the notion of monolithic "German" and "Anglo-French" practices can be further refined to reveal regional differences that may be helpful in analysing sequence transmission also in Nidaros manuscripts. The aspect of melodic variability within the medieval province of Nidaros is particularly interesting with regard to the relationship between Icelandic and Norwegian manuscripts. Icelandic manuscripts have so far been viewed as transmitting more German features than Norwegian manuscripts. As more fragments and various chants in this tradition are examined, however, a more complex picture emerges.

GUNNAR TERNHAG, ERIK WALLRUP, ELIN HERMANSSON,
INGELA TÄGIL & KARIN HALLGREN

Writing Composer Biographies in the Project *Swedish Musical Heritage*

Why take interest in forgotten music? And why take interest in the forgotten composers who wrote this now silent music?

Swedish Musical Heritage is the name of a six year long project whose purpose is to make music that is rarely played more accessible, so that it might gain a new audience. The project is funded by the Swedish Royal Academy of Music. Biographical texts on nearly 300 Swedish composers, mainly unknown even for specialists in Swedish music history, provide a background for musical works. The writing of these biographical texts, parallel to and outside of the narrow selection covered in music history books, is the topic of this article.

The article's authors are involved in a variety of ways in the work on these biographies and write from their own respective roles. As a whole, the article seeks less to present the project itself than to motivate and discuss the work of writing biographies on Swedish composers, many of whom are unknown even to specialists. The biographical perspective is, of course, an older method of writing history, but is very much relevant for this project. What are the ramifications of once again implementing this perspective and, on top of that, applying it to composers who have never been a part of music history's canon? And what do the authors of these biographies think of the national frame that so obviously surrounds this project?

Gunnar Ternhag is the project manager and is responsible for the introduction. Erik Wallrup is the chief editor and reflects on the biographical genre. As head of translation, Elin Hermansson writes about the role that English texts on Swedish composers may play. Ingela Tägil and Karin Hallgren are both music historians. In their contributions they reflect on the relationship between research and writing history.

1. Introduction – Gunnar Ternhag

The main purpose of the project *Swedish Musical Heritage* is to make musical works from Swedish art music history easily available and for them to then be examined, performed and listened to. The ultimate goal is to make this music a living component of the modern concert repertoire – in Sweden, but hopefully also outside its

borders. This goal also includes a desire to expand research about the composers, about their musical works and about Swedish music history in general. The time period stretches back to the 16th century and, in the modern era, includes those composers who, when considering them for inclusion in the project, have been dead for for more than 70 years and whose works are therefore in the public domain; the project explicitly works with copyright-free music.

The most important part of the project is the publication of editions of musical works for free downloading from the project's website. The musical works to be edited are not the ones that we believe are historically most interesting. Instead, we choose works that have a chance to reach concert stages, recording studios and music schools. In short, we focus upon "good" and attractive music. The reason for this selection is found in the purpose of the project, namely to present interesting but forgotten music to today's performers and scholars. We especially try to present interesting works from lesser-known composers and also try to spread the editions over several genres and several instruments and ensembles. In other words, our intention is to challenge the canon with regards to Swedish art music in today's concert programmes. We will actually expand the canon, make it more diversified and hopefully more attractive. This is certainly a high goal, but a stimulating one too.

All texts on the website are in Swedish and English, mirroring our effort to spread the music and knowledge about the project also to non-Swedish readers.

Even if immediately playable editions are published for free downloading, the aim of placing these musical works in concert programmes will not be reached simply by their being made easily accessible. More is needed, especially as one cannot expect that the performers have substantial knowledge about Swedish music history and, more specifically, about the composers and their musical production. Therefore, the project includes an ambitious sub-project that is the focus of the rest of the article.

The biographical sub-project

This sub-project has its own goal that is to publish biographies of nearly 300 Swedish composers from the period in question. There are a little more than 400 composers known by name and we are consequently trying to capture the lives and musical production of the vast majority of them. Moreover, every biography is followed by a bibliography and a catalogue of musical works.

Fellow musicologists specialized in music history are writing the texts. More than 60 colleagues have so far been involved in the sub-project – from doctoral candidates to senior researchers. Most of the authors are Swedes, of course, but there are also some non-Swedish specialists writing texts for us.

With the ambitious goal of profiling nearly 300 Swedish composers from historical times, it quickly becomes clear that only a limited number of them are to be found in modern scholarly literature or even in music encyclopaedias. Probably less than 20 names are described in scholarly literature that is 25 years old or more. For a vast majority of the composers, research is needed before a biographical presentation can be

written. The research includes reviewing the composer's musical works, a time-consuming activity that usually has to be done in the archives.

The national frame of the project

It is impossible to deny that the *Swedish Musical Heritage* project and its sub-project about writing composers' biographies have a national frame. It is a Swedish project that presents and promotes Swedish music – whatever "Swedish" may mean here.[1] Described in this way the project seems very old-fashioned, continuing to treat music history nation-wise, like our predecessors did in the 19th century. We would in this case, if you like, be nothing but a technologically updated version of a very established way of writing music history.

On the other hand: we don't write music history like most of our predecessors did. We are not writing these biographical texts from a nationalistic perspective, trying to highlight a few particular Swedish composers in order to place them alongside the most iconic names in music history. Instead, our main concern is to broaden the literature on music history, giving attention to lots of music creators who have never found their way into music history handbooks or even music encyclopaedias. Many of the composers were not even respected names during their lifetimes. Also, we give special attention to female composers, since their contribution to music history in Sweden is neglected.[2] Indeed, many female composers' lives and works are presented here for the first time. From our inventory we know that 12–15 percent of all known composers in Sweden during the 19th century were women.

In Swedish Musical Heritage, special emphasis is placed on writing biographies on female composers, in order to increase gender balance in musical -historical overviews and concert programmes, and to remedy the scant attention they have previously been given. In many cases, this means that the person's compositional activities are described for the first time.. – Helena Munktell (1852–1919) was first trained as a singer and pianist, but chose to focus on composition. She first studied in Stockholm, then continued her education in Paris, by, among other things, taking lessons with Vincent d'Indy. Although she lived in Sweden, she returned regularly to Paris, where many of her compositions were performed with great success.

1   Swedishness in music is discussed in *Svenskhet i musiken*, ed. Holger Larsen (Stockholm: Stockholm university, Dept. of Musicology, 1993).
2   Eva Öhrström, *Borgerliga kvinnors musicerande i 1800-talets Sverige* (PhD diss., Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, 1987) is still the best overview on female composers in Sweden during the 19th century.

Consequently, our struggle is to cover music composing in a much broader sense than our predecessors have done, producing many small stories, instead of a dominating big one. Further, although this work is carried out within a national frame, it is not nationalistic.

Centre-periphery within Sweden

This broad coverage has an impact on the understanding of the relationship between centre and periphery within Sweden – the same problem but on a European level is discussed below by Karin Hallgren. Usually Stockholm is regarded as the obvious centre – there was the royal court, the Royal Swedish Academy of Music, and for a long time the only opera and the only professional orchestra were based there.[3] But with the many composers and many musical milieus described, Stockholm with all its assets does not stand out as the only centre for musical development in Sweden. In fact, the rich descriptions produced reveal several interesting regional scenes that would be worth examining in depth; all innovations and all new trends certainly did not start in the capital of the country.

Another aspect of the national frame of the project is that similar projects exist in the other Nordic countries – the Danish Centre for Music Editing, Norwegian Musical Heritage and Finnish Musical Heritage – even though none of them write composer biographies on this scale. There is in fact a close connection between these projects and even an informal organisation that arranges conferences once a year: the Nordic Musical Heritage Network. Our Swedish project is therefore part of a bigger struggle to renew music history and to present musical works from the past in modern editions. I would not be surprised if there are parallel projects in other European countries – the Nordic initiatives are probably part of an even wider trend. To conclude this aspect, the writing of biographies for so many Swedish composers contributes to a richer and more complex European music history. We contribute to this enlarged history with almost 300 Swedish cases – or combined, one huge Swedish case.

Are they all Swedish composers?

Upon closer inspection of many of the biographies already written, one discovers that numerous composers did not spend their wholes lives in Sweden. So, can they really be considered as Swedish? A number of them were in fact born outside today's Sweden, but had a substantial part of their careers within what is today Sweden. Joseph Martin Kraus (1756–1792), Hermann Berens (1826–1880) and Eduard Du Puy (c.1770–1822) belong to that category. Others were born in Sweden, but spent years abroad, mostly for educational purposes – for example Johan Agrell (1701–1765) Amanda Maier-Röntgen (1853–1894), not to mention those who were educat-

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3   The musical resources in Stockholm during the 19th century are described in Karin Hallgren, "Musiklivet i Stockholm", in *Franz Berwald – belysningar och reflektioner*, ed. Gunnar Ternhag (Hedemora: Gidlunds, 2016). See also Anne Reese Willén, *I huvudstaden, musiklivets härd: Den strukturella omvandlingen av Stockholms offentliga konstmusikliv ca 1840-1890* (PhD diss., Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2014).

ed and trained by teachers that originally came from other countries. So what about their Swedishness?

Honestly, it is neither possible nor fruitful to look upon the history of music composing in Sweden within a strictly national frame. The history of music-making in Sweden is closely linked to the music history of neighbouring countries, as it is also linked to musical developments in Europe as a whole. This statement is most certainly a truism in the eyes of fellow music historians, but must be said to provide a background for the national frame of the sub-project of writing composer biographies for *Swedish Musical Heritage*.

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The four sections below are each written by researchers contributing biographies to the project; they detail particular approaches and reflect upon the scope of the remit each has and thus illustrate particular aspects of biography writing that, together, contribute to the aims and objectives of the project. Erik Wallrup argues for the relevance of writing composer biographies, although many music historians of today are more interested in structural issues. Elin Hermansson discusses the meaning of presenting biographies about minor Swedish composers in English to non-Swedish readers. How to write biographies on composing singers is the subject of Ingela Tägil, herself both a singer and a scholar. Even if the singing composers in this specific project should be described as composers, their careers as singers must have influenced them as composers. Finally, Karin Hallgren reflects on the long term values of writing composer biographies in the actual project. What will the individual scholar gain? And what will benefit music history writing in general or at least for other scholars with interests in Swedish music history?

2. *What a biography can say today* – Erik Wallrup

It may be that most books on classical music sold today are biographical, but that is not tantamount to having a prominent position in the genre of musicological writing. Of course, we find academic works on Beethoven and Berwald, on Nono and Nørgaard, on Shostakovich and Sibelius, but they most often treat works, works, works. In the last decade we have seen important Swedish studies on the relationship between Sweden and Germany during the 1930s and the Second World War, and here biographical aspects are sometimes brought to the fore. [4] But in the study of the lead-

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4   Among the works published, we find Henrik Karlsson's *Det fruktade märket: Wilhelm Peterson-Berger, antisemitismen, antinazismen* (Malmö: Sekel, 2005) and Henrik Rosengren, *Judarnas Wagner: Moses Pergament och den kulturella identifikationens dilemma 1920–1950* (Malmö: Sekel, 2008). The authors have continued on the biographical route, Karlsson with a biography on Peterson-Berger (Skellefteå: Norma, 2013) and the historian Rosengren with a research project within the musical field where he uses a biographical method, *Från tysk höst till tysk vår: fem musikpersonligheter i svensk exil i skuggan av nazismen och kalla kriget* (Lund: Nordic academic press, 2013). Both authors have written articles for Swedish Musical Heritage.

ing force of Swedish music of those days, Kurt Atterberg, his correspondence and note-books were treated with critical discourse analysis.[5]

Theoretically minded musicologists regard biographies with distrust, and many bi-ographies indeed have an ambiguous status, hovering between *belles lettres* and schol-arly literature. Roland Barthes famously proclaimed the death of the author in 1967,[6] but to many a musicologist writing in those days, the composer had been dead for much longer. Musical analysis has never taken much notice of the intentions of the composer – it is supposed to be all there, in the score. Sociologically influenced stud-ies of music distrust the individual.

Does the biographical project within *Swedish Musical Heritage* proclaim the resur-rection of the composer and, consequently, the Composer with a capital C? Gunnar Ternhag has already pointed out that we do not try to focus on the few composers that belong to this small canon of ours (a canon that in any case is perishing since Swed-ish orchestras seldom perform Swedish works). Further, we do not have a grand narra-tive of Swedish music in mind when trying to map Swedish music up to the 1940s. I must make mention of the fact that there has never been a grand narrative of Swedish music, even if Bo Wallner came quite close to writing such a history from Wilhelm Stenhammar to Hilding Rosenberg and members of the "Monday Group", *Måndags-gruppen*, such as Karl-Birger Blomdahl and Ingvar Lidholm. His was a history of mo-dernity and professionalism instead of traditionalism and amateurism.

No, writing biographical articles on Swedish composers leads to another kind of history, or actually small histories, and these histories are almost always local, some-times even individual. Here, I would like to present a small selection of such histories.

Women as composers, musical men in uniform

What can be seen as the most up-to-date aspect of the biography project is the fact that, for the first time, the stories of many female composers are being told by musi-cologists. This aspect touches on composers who belonged to the nobility where mu-sic-making was a social activity of great importance, a tendency that is central to Swed-ish musical life during the whole 19th century. Later in that century we find the first women with a thorough education in composition. The reason for this is not just that women were for a long time not accepted as students, but also that experiences from abroad – and here Leipzig is crucial – were needed for a technically accurate education to be introduced at the Royal Conservatory, which happened with Ludvig Norman (1831–1885).

Among his students we find Elfrida Andrée (1841–1929). Her story has already been told by Eva Öhrström,[7] who has also written the article on Andrée in *Swed-ish Musical Heritage*. Andrée was the first woman to graduate as an organist in 1860 and the first to become a cathedral organist, while at the same time being a pioneer

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5   Cf. Petra Gaberding's thorough and interesting study Musik och politik i skuggan av nazismen: Kurt Atterberg och de svensk-tyska musikrelationerna (Malmö: Sekel, 2007).
6   Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author", *Aspen Magazine*, no. 5/6, 1967.
7   Cf. Eva Öhrström, *Elfrida Andrée: Ett levnadsöde* (Stockholm: Prisma, 1999).

among female composers. She focused on orchestral and chamber works, but we find an opera, too.

Andrée may be the first woman, but she was not the only one. During the years 2014–15, two compositions by female composers from the second half of the 19th century have been performed by the Royal Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra with orchestral material taken from *Swedish Musical Heritage*. The "symphonic image" *Bränningar* or *Breaking Waves* by Helena Munktell (1852–1919) can already during the 2010s be expected to become a part of the standard Swedish orchestral repertoire. The other success is Amanda Maier Röntgen's (1853–1894) *Concerto for Violin and Orchestra* in one movement; one Swedish critic wished that the work would find a worldwide audience.[8] Munktell, who never married, continued to compose her whole life – although she received little attention in Sweden, she was more fortunate in Paris. Amanda Maier, on the other hand, married the composer and pianist Julius Röntgen, leading to a halt for her double career as a violinist and a composer. We find other similar examples of that sad story.

However, we do not have an ideological agenda for *Swedish Musical Heritage* (which does not mean that the project cannot be discussed in such terms). Another interesting theme found deep down in our biographical material – again almost uncharted territory – concerns composers in uniform. I do not intend to say something about all compositions for military orchestras, nor even compositions by all music directors for regiments in existence. What I want to highlight is the surprisingly great number of composers who also had a military career.

The first example is Arvid Niclas von Höpken (1710–1778) who ended up as Senior Commandant of the Stralsund fortress but who, during his military career, was able to compose two operas to Metastasio's libretti *Il re Pastore* and *Catone in Utica* in 1752 and 1753 respectively. Later on we find Thomas Byström (1772–1839) who started his military career in Russia, volunteered for Swedish military service and went to war against Russia only to go back to the Russian army again before returning to Stockholm. Despite his unruly life, he was able to compose three sonatas for piano and violin that were printed in 1801 by no less a publisher than Breitkopf und Härtel. His son, Oscar Byström (1821–1909), followed in his father's footsteps, both as a composer and a soldier. Fortunately, the last war to be fought by a Swedish army had ended in 1809. He composed one of the most interesting symphonies of the generations between Berwald and Norman; it was of such quality that he was accused of having purloined the score from the manuscripts that Berwald had left behind after his death.

One explanation for this odd combination is that music-making had both been a part of the aristocratic education and the education at military academies. Music was taught at the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences at Karlberg in Stockholm, which also offered a basic education for young boys up until the mid-19th century. The vocal composer Erik Arrhén von Kapfelman (1790–1851) became music teacher there in the

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8   Cf. Johanna Paulsson, *Dagens Nyheter*, May 29, 2015.

1820s. Karin Hallgren wrote the article on Kapfelman and found, in the process, a previously almost unknown musical milieu.

Composing in small forms

If the standard composer was not a woman, and not in uniform, did he write orchestral music, chamber music and opera, like all the great composers in Europe? From 1983 we have the impressive study *Den svenska symfonin* written by Lennart Hedwall[9] and Bo Wallner has written about parts of the history of the Swedish string quartet.[10] But the question is whether these genres say that much about Swedish composing during the period 1750–1950. I have come to know that Hedwall is now in 2016 writing a book on Swedish songs and, if you take into account the huge number of songs listed in *Swedish Musical Heritage*, there is reason to say that this book of Hedwall's could say much more than his earlier work about what Swedish music has been all about. But then one should also add the following genres: piano music, as well as works for choir and other vocal ensembles.

Music history has traditionally been the history of the symphony, the opera and chamber music, but in taking the biographical route we can clearly see that these genres are not those that are central to the Swedish scene, certainly not in terms of quantity and perhaps not in terms of quality. Different kinds of sociological investigations may thus say much more than biographical studies but, even if such perspectives are of the greatest interest with regards to the musical past, the combination of biographies and electronically published works by all these composers can make the past present in another way: as perceived music brought to life.

What is obvious from these songs, bearing witness to something that seems to be almost exotic nowadays, is that Swedish composers read the poetry of Norwegian and Danish poets in a way that tells us that Scandinavian literature was their own literature. There is a lot of songs composed on texts by J.P Jacobsen, Sigbjørn Obstfelder, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Holger Drachmann, Thor Lange, Vilhelm Krag among others and the lovely thing is that they were composed to the original poem that only occasionally came with a Swedish translation. So, the lives of our composers say something important about another era, when we were able to speak to each other not in an international language – in those days German – but in the Scandinavian languages.

3. *Swedish Musical Heritage in English* – Elin Hermansson

The huge task of translating these Swedish composer biographies and all other texts produced within *Swedish Musical Heritage* to English is one that has not yet been undertaken in Swedish music research or any other institutional or public music enterprise before. This might be with the exception of a number of ambitious Wikipedia articles, yet *Swedish Musical Heritage* is much more than a free-content encyclopaedia

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9   Lennart Hedwall, *Den svenska symfonin* (Stockholm: AWE/Gebers, 1983).
10   Bo Wallner, *Den svenska stråkkvartetten: en sammanställning* (Stockholm: Kungl. Musikaliska akademien, 1979).

– although it does have free access. The people involved in the biography project are experienced music researchers, who have spent a large part of their professional lives working in archives and writing about music in one way or another, and our translators all have a background in various musical areas. Suffice to say that we have gathered the most competent people within this field in Sweden to participate in the project.

Why translate a Swedish project?

When arguing in favour of the translation work, one vital question arises: since *Swedish Musical Heritage* is only focused on the music produced within Sweden, why bother translating not only the composer biographies but also the entire website, with registered works and musical editions included, into English? The main reason is of course the hope that people outside of Sweden will find our music history and the music produced within this country of interest. The aspiration is also to make available as much music (and music of high quality) to as many people possible. However, there are more reasons that are as well-founded as this.

As Gunnar Ternhag mentioned above, many composers we have researched are not, in fact, native Swedes yet have still had a great impact on Swedish musical life. On the English side of things, that is to our advantage, as people abroad might find our website useful if they have an interest in composers such as, for example, Joseph Martin Kraus, born in Miltenberg am Main and active in Stockholm, and whose life and work is often likened to that of Mozart, or Ingeborg von Bronsart, born of Swedish parents in Saint Petersburg but mostly active in Germany and known as a concert pianist, composer and female pioneer in German opera. Then, of course, we have Johann Gottlieb Naumann, Laura Netzel, Bernhard Crusell, Francesco Uttini and so forth – the list goes on. Names like these are what connect Sweden to the continent and beyond, which makes our translation work both justifiable and essential. As much as we are trying to reach out to international readers and musicians, we hope the biography project will make available parts of Swedish music history for people abroad, enabling them to reach into the musical stories in Sweden that together have created a rich cultural life over the centuries.

An ideal thought is that making Swedish music available, both through our biographies and the amended and critical editions we publish for free on the website, will inspire musicians to play and enjoy the music in other countries than our own. Furthermore, and perhaps most relevant in relation to the biographies, is that international music researchers now are able to get access to a part of music history previously unexplored in English, which might inspire completely new areas of research. The possible interest in composers such as those mentioned above, who have had influential international relations, might just act as an entrance into new research subjects for scholars outside of Sweden. There are as yet unknown amounts of material to be discovered, and it would be an honour if *Swedish Musical Heritage* would inspire innovative research abroad. However, the website could and should be used by non-scholars as well, such as by those who might find music there that they want to play and who are curious for more information or younger students or other music lovers looking to learn a bit more about Swedish music history.

Swedish Musical Heritage **across the globe**

Only in the most recent decades has it become natural to use English as a second language in Europe and beyond. Sweden has an earlier history of being in a close cultural relationship with Germany, and for a long time German has been the language of use in Swedish music research when writing on both national and beyond-national matters. The names mentioned above prove this relationship well. However, as the world has changed and grown into a global society, German has been phased out in favour of English, and not exclusively in Sweden. Thus, it is self-evident that the language of choice should be that that is most commonly used in music research internationally today.

Last but not least, to make the translation work worthwhile, we also need to make sure the project reaches out to the audience we have in mind. Social media and the Internet in general will surely ease this process, but direct contact with orchestras, music societies and musicological departments would also help. In fact, there are already examples of *Swedish Musical Heritage* spreading across the globe: Helena Munktell's orchestral work *Breaking Waves* was played by the Astana Symphony Orchestra in Kazakhstan; the piano music of Elfrida Andrée was toured around Jamaica with pianist Oskar Ekberg; and both the BBC Symphony Orchestra and the National Orchestra of Wales have played works by Wilhelm Stenhammar and Ludvig Norman respectively. Perhaps a few members of these orchestras or listeners from the audiences will become more curious about the music they play and hear and, through a simple search on the Internet, will end up on our website. That is a good way to start.

4. The singer as composer: Some reflections from an author's perspective – Ingela Tägil

I have written three biographies for *Swedish Musical Heritage*, about Isidor Dannström (1812–1897), Henriette Nissen-Saloman (1819–1879) and Christina Nilsson (1843–1921) – three singers who also composed musical works. They were important music personalities, and they were all elected as members of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music. In this section, I will explain how I have worked by using examples from the biographies I have written.

In my own research I have used a gender perspective on historical voices and singers who were active before the introduction of the recording technique in the late 19th century. My doctoral dissertation *Jenny Lind: The impact of her voice on media identity*[11] investigates, as the title suggests, how Jenny Lind's (1820–1887) voice affected her "virgin Mary-like" media image. Here, I elaborated with a method based on my own practical vocal knowledge and experience, which I combined with gender analysis[12]

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11   Ingela Tägil, *Jenny Lind: Röstens betydelse för hennes medial identitet, en studie av hennes konstnärsskap 1838–49*, (PhD diss., Örebro: Örebro University, 2013).
12   The gender analysis is based on discussions with Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality*, second edition (Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press, 2002/1991) and Judith Butler, *Genustrubbel. Feminism och identitetens subversion*, trans. Suzanne Almqvist (Göteborg: Daidalos, 2007/1990).

of contemporary reviews. Of course, I have not used the practice-based parts of this method for this project, but my vocal knowledge has been most useful when writing the articles, since singers are the subjects of the biographies I've written.

Portraits of the singers

Dannström, Nissen-Saloman and Nilsson were all most famous as opera singers during their lifetimes but, since their passing, they have been seen differently. Nilsson is remembered as one of the foremost Swedish-born international opera prima donnas in the 19th century. She worked as an opera and concert singer from 1864 to 1888 and she was among the first generation of sopranos to interpret the role Elsa in Wagner's *Lohengrin*. Nilsson's career was launched early as a miserably poor young fiddler from Småland whose life turned into a Cinderella story. This image probably helped her career. Dannström was, alongside Jenny Lind, one of the lead singers at the Royal Opera in the years 1841–44. While Lind was being called "the Swedish nightingale", Nissen-Saloman received the pet name "the Swedish lark".[13] Though both Dannström and Nissen-Saloman were considered just as successful as Lind in the middle of the 19th century, they are nowadays not remembered as singers.

Isidor Dannström is remembered in posterity mainly as a composer. He composed frequently and he had great success with his songs, such as works for solo singers, duets and small ensembles. One of his song collections was awarded a prize by the Swedish Art Music Society in 1876. Dannström also wrote several comic operas and operettas, such as *Skomakaren och hans fru* (1847) and *Doktor Tartaglia* (1851). However, Dannström had little success with his music-theatrical works. He himself wrote: "For the stage I have left but a few insignificant works".[14]

Dannström was also valued as a vocal pedagogue. His book *Sång-metod* (published in 1848, revised in 1876) drew considerable attention.[15] Dannström's teaching was mainly based on the ideas of the internationally renowned vocal pedagogue Manuel Garcia (1805–1906). However, of the three musicians I describe here, the one who is remembered today as a vocal pedagogue is Henriette Nissen-Saloman. After her opera career, Nissen-Saloman worked as a singing teacher at the conservatory in Saint Petersburg 1859–73. She became popular and was made an honorary member in several of the city's musical societies. Like Dannström, Nissen-Saloman created her own vocal school. Her elaborate work *Škola pěnija. L'étude du chant. Das Studium des Gesanges* (1880) was published posthumously in three languages and edited by her husband.[16] She was, like Dannström, a pupil of Garcia and she modelled her vocal training after his vocal ideas, although Nissen-Saloman provided many more variations in her exercises.

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13 "Den svenska lärkan", in *Idun*, December 29, 1929, 1448–1449.
14 "För scenen har jag äfven lemnat några mindre betydande arbeten." (author's trans.). Isidor Dannström, *Några blad ur Isidor Dannströms minnesanteckningar* (Stockholm: Centraltryckeriet 1896), 80.
15 Isidor Dannström, *Sång-Metod. Omarbetad och tillökt upplaga* (Stockholm: Abr. Lundquist, 1848, rev. 1876).
16 Henriette Nissen-Saloman, *Skola Penja L'etude du chant Das Studium des Gesanges par H. Nissen-Saloman*, (Saint Petersburg: Bessel, 1880).

The composing singer

In writing these biographical articles, I had the opportunity to not only maintain my own research, but also to expand my area of interest and write about musical works. I found that it is evident in both Dannström's and Nilsson's compositions that they were singers. Dannström has a good feel for vocal phrasing, both in text and melody. On high notes he principally uses the vowels *a*, *ä*, and *ö* which are relatively easy to sing high without going sharp. Dannström leaned towards the Swedish song tradition of his time that was inspired by the German Lied tradition. His works also show the influence of the Italian *bel canto* tradition. His harmonic language is likewise typical of his time: the expressive melodies with small harmonic deviations, where dissonances often comprise passing accidentals and chromaticisms, are also found in operatic works of the early 19th century, as are broken chords in the accompaniments, which are typical of Bellini's operas. Vocally, several of his songs require a comparatively large range and the tessitura is considered relatively high. Dannström was able to apply simple means to make a song appear virtuosic. He used large leaps, small cadences and turns, and his melodies build up towards a high point with the upper tones sounding at the end. Several of Dannström's songs are miniature dramas, as with other vocal music of the era. Operatic works and salon music are often intimately connected in 19th century vocal music and, in this, Dannström is typical of his time.

In Nilsson's case it is obvious from her work "Ofelias klagan", for song, piano and violin, that she also had a background as a violinist. The song is expressive and the violin part has a relatively large ambitus. Nilsson has only written a few other musical pieces, the song "Jag hade en vän," as well as arrangements of the folk songs "Om dagen vid mitt arbete" and "Spring and Autumn" (an English reworking of "Fjorton år tror jag visst att jag var"). "Jag hade en vän" for song and piano has the feeling of a Swedish folk song in a relatively quick triple metre. All the songs combine the style of Swedish folk song with a bit of vocal virtuosity.

I found it interesting to involve contemporary sources in the biographies, as a voice of judgement from the composers' own times. Frans Huss writes in his obituary of Dannström in *Svensk Musiktidning* in November 1897: "As a singer himself, his work as a composer principally leaned towards songs".[17] About Nissen-Saloman a journalist in *Freja* wrote in 1843: "Nissen is a master of *fioritura* and flourishes and such, whatever they may be called".[18] Arvid Ahnfeldt wrote about Nilsson in 1887: "Chr. N. has at her disposal a voice that does not dazzle with impressive strength, does not set fire with passion's glowing coals, but draws one in through her gentle, tender beauty".[19] In those instances where the composers have expressed any opinions, I have included

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17   "Sjelf sångare har hans arbete som tonsättare hufvudsakligen rigtats åt sången" (author's trans.). Frans Huss, "Nekrolog över Isidor Dannström", in *Svensk Musiktidning* (1 Nov. 1897), 130.

18   "Nissen är mästarinna i 'fioriturer', och krumelurer och allt hvad det heter" (author's trans.). "Jenny Lind och Henriette Nissen", in *Nyaste Freja* (11 Aug. 1843).

19   "Chr. N. eger till sitt förfogande en stämma som icke bländar med imponerande styrka, icke tänder med glödens passion, men intager genom sin blida skära fägring." (author's trans.). Arvid Ahnfeldt, "Christina Nilsson", in *Europas konstnärer. Alfabetiskt ordnade biografier öfver vårt århundrades förnämsta artister* (Stockholm: Oscar L. Lamms förlag, 1887), 398–409.

that with the biography. For example, Dannström himself observed in his memoirs that "the human voice is the most perfect of all musical instruments",[20] and Nilsson herself described how she early on cultivated her high notes because, as a child, the people she sang for found it impressive.[21]

It seems natural to relate these composers' musical works to their voices. I have therefore included short descriptions of their voices in the biographies. Sofia Bergfors in 1877 emphasised that, among Nilsson's contemporaries, there were many female singers with larger voices but none more beautiful. Her vocal register stretched from low B natural to F above high C. She had an impressive high range, but somewhat weaker low and middle range. Nilsson's timbre is described as special. Phrases such as "crystal-clear", "like a bell" and "flute-like" are oft-repeated descriptions. Nissen-Saloman had a powerfully sounding mezzo-soprano voice in the lower registers, while the higher notes were thin with less colour. She easily sang with coloratura and embellishments.

It is important to me, beyond the compositions, to also give a picture of the composers' musicianship. Hopefully, I can contribute with a "musician's eye" to *Swedish Musical Heritage* in this research area.

5. *Writing experiences and thoughts on historiography* – Karin Hallgren

Questions about the status of biographies have been debated vigorously in recent years, particularly in the humanities, while the biographical genre at the same time has attracted many writers.[22] In the project *Swedish Musical Heritage* I have written biographies of about twenty composers, especially from the 19th century. In this article, I describe my experiences in biography writing and put forward a few ideas regarding historiography that this work has elicited.

Experiences from writing biographies

There have been certain specified conditions on the writing: the biographies are to be focused on the person's activities as a composer; the scope of the individual biographies has been determined based on the extent and importance of the composer's work; and the texts must be focused and informative and hopefully tempt further reading. An important point of departure for the whole project with the articles is that they should contain personal evaluations only if the evaluations contribute to an essential understanding of the composers and their works. I regard this opinion as a clear stand against many biographies written in Swedish music history in the earlier part of the

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20   "[M]änniskorösten är det fullkomligaste af tonverktyg" (author's trans.). Isidor Dannström, *Några blad ur Isidor Dannströms minnesanteckningar* (Stockholm: Centraltryckeriet 1896), 77.

21   "Christina Nilsson", in *Ny Illustrerad tidning,* 33 (Stockholm: 12 Aug. 1876), 295–296.

22   See for example Henrik Karlsson, "'Härliga ego!' Reflexioner om tonsättarbiografier," in *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* 81 (1999), Henrik Rosengren and Johan Östling, eds., *Med livet som insats: Biografin som humanistisk genre* (Lund: Sekel, 2011), Gunnar Ternhag, "'I fyra år levde jag tillsammans med en annan man.' Några tankar kring konsten att skriva om enstaka musiker," in *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning,* 81 (1999), Melanie Unseld, *Biographie und Musikgeschichte: Wandlungen biographischer Konzepte in Musikkultur und Musikhistoriographie* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2014).

20th century. The basis of the biographies in this project will consist of previous re-search and secondary literature. If necessary, primary materials will also be used.

My work in the project has been interesting, amusing and, at times, difficult. The composers have only inspired previous research to a minor degree, which means that the availability of secondary literature has varied a lot. The need to review the primary material has therefore been immense. Within the project, however, there have only been opportunities to go through a certain part of primary material, where printed music and contemporary press have been the main sources.

Most of the biographies are comparatively short. In some cases, this is due to the fact, simply put, that it has been difficult to find information; in other cases it is be-cause the composer was of minor importance. But the total number of biographies has made it possible to discern some patterns. The biography work has confirmed ex-isting opinions and knowledge of musical life in 19th century Sweden, such as the im-portance of family traditions for choice of profession and the dependence of studies abroad for those who wanted an education in music.

The work has also expanded knowledge in already known areas, such as the impor-tance of opera and theatre for the musical life and the importance of resourceful people with initiative and extensive networks. New themes have also been highlighted, such as music as a part of military training. In addition, the reviews of these composers' reper-toires have given much evidence and examples of how much music was in fact written for different occasions. This music is, for the most part, unknown to us today. But in its own time it was important and in many cases spread widely and was used widely.

Many of the composers, whose life and work is described in Swedish Musical Herit-age, are unknown music creators even for to Swedish music historians. The sphere of Swedish composers is thus expanding gradually. The most well-known compos-ers are now in the company of an incomprehensible number of colleagues, which has resulted in the role of the composer transforming into a much more ordinary activity– August Elfåker (1851–1914) is one of those whose calling was to create new music, first in Sweden, then in the United States, and, towards the end of his life, in Sweden again. He wrote songs, piano music and two symphonies. Studio portrait of August Elfåker in his younger years.

The need for interpretation of the material has become very clear during work on the biographies. Although one may intuitively think that conditions during the 19th cen-tury are comparatively close to us in time, this work has brought many examples of situations and phenomena that are unfamiliar to us today. It can for example be dif-ficult to imagine what it was like to have no civil rights, no opportunity to study or to earn one's own income. But those were conditions that applied not only to the wom-en of 19th century society but also for many men. There were also strong, seemingly obvious, opinions, for example, that young men would follow their fathers in terms of career. And, in addition, when considering the practicalities of living in a society with-out electricity, the limited transport options and a musical life where there were only live performances, the differences to our own times appear very large. The need for de-tailed studies and a hermeneutical approach is therefore necessary.

The composers who have emerged through the work on the biographies all contributed to the establishment of the musical life in Sweden during the 19th century. These include musician families such as Berwald and Söderman, theatre musicians such as August Säfström (1813–1888), Petter Conrad Boman (1804–1861) and Jacob Niclas Ahlström (1805–1857), as well as several members of the royal family, such as the princesses Eugénie (1830–1889) and Thérèse (1836–1914). While working on the biographies, I have often found reason to feel great respect for these people and the difficult work they performed, a work that became the foundation upon which others could build.

Knowledge of the individuals and their activities serves to fill the many gaps in Swedish 19th century music history that still exist.[23] But despite this contribution, much research on musical life is still missing; for example, on important institutions such as the Royal Swedish Academy of Music and its conservatory, on choral associations and music in the church and, to some extent, even music at the Royal Opera and the music at the many private theatres. Musical life in Sweden during the 19th century has also previously been described within a limited frame, and Nordic or European comparisons are sparse. Textbooks from the early 20th century are still to this day in many cases the only secondary literature available. These textbooks are often person-oriented and full of anecdotes with unclear connections to real events. In many cases, the textbooks and the early biographies go back to the same source, whose value is often difficult to determine from a source critical perspective. For today's biography writing, it is important not to redistribute these anecdotes and uncertain data. Careful reviews of musical and archival material increase the chances of a better knowledge of past musical life.

Ideas on historiography

The result of writing these biographies provides an opportunity to highlight and problematize wider issues of historiography. The individual biographies give an opportunity to access a larger context. I would like to mention two areas where I think the biography writing has provided a basis for thinking and perhaps re-evaluations: questions on structures and the importance of the individual; and questions on centre and periphery.

Structure or individual

Whether it is strong individuals who drive development forward or if an underlying structure is crucial to development has been discussed in previous research.[24] How important is the individual? My material includes, among others, Edouard Du Puy

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23 *Musiken i Sverige 3: Den nationella identiteten 1810-1920,* eds. Leif Jonsson & Martin Tegen, (Stockholm: Fischer, 1992) is an important exception, but since this handbook is of general character, the composers relevant for my work in most cases are only mentioned briefly. Among later research on music history in Sweden in the 1800s, see Anne Reese Willén, *I huvudstaden, musiklivets härd: Den strukturella omvandlingen av Stockholms offentliga konstmusikliv ca 1840-1890* (PhD diss., Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2014).

24 See, for example, Volker R. Berghahn, "Structuralism and Biography. Some concluding Thoughts on the Uncertainties of a Historiographical Genre", in *Biography between Structure and Agency: Central European Lives in International Historiography*, eds. Volker R. Berghahn & Simone Lässig (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008) for a discussion on issues concerning structure contra individual for the period 1945 and onward.

(1770–1822), who was of great importance for the development of the quality of the musicians in the Royal Court Orchestra in the 1810s. Without Du Puy, musicians like the brothers Franz (1796–1868) and August (1798–1869) Berwald and their cousin Johan Fredrik (1787–1861) would probably not have received a qualified teaching in violin and composition. Today, we can only speculate about what that would have meant for their musical careers.

Among my biographies are also several members from the royal court. Their willingness to provide funding, but also their personal interest in music and networking, were essential for music practice in larger circles of society during most of the 19th century. While King Charles XIV John with some reluctance supported the Royal Opera, conditions changed when Crown Prince Oscar and Crown Princess Josephine in the 1820s showed greater interest than the king in music performances both at the opera and in the music associations. It meant an expansion of the musical scene, especially for the opera, but in many ways also for musical life as a whole. Both Du Puy and those members of the royal family are examples of individuals who have been important for the development of musical life.

But many of the composers during the period in question lived under similar conditions. They worked in the theatre or the church and they were music teachers. Their compositions were useful at different occasions in musical life without having any special, individual touch. In this case, it is harder to argue that development would be driven forward only by the actions of individuals. What would have happened if Erik Arrhén von Kapfelman (1791–1851) had not worked as a music teacher at the War Academy in Karlberg in the first half of the 19th century? It would probably only mean that someone else would have done the work. And had not Adolph Mecklin (1761–1803) worked as an organist in Linköping in the early 19th century, someone else would have filled the space. From these examples, it is reasonable to say that the structure is more important than the individual.

An emphasis of structure is also given from a gender perspective. That musical life in the 19th century made different claims on, and provided varying opportunities for, women and men is obvious and is part of the structural conditions that prevailed. Based on my research material one sees examples of this in the choice of performance venues as well as in the choice of genres for compositions. One can also wonder whether compositions by women and men were judged by the same standards. One example is Princess Thérèse and she is commented on rather patronizingly, for example, in contemporary biographies by people close to her, while her piano compositions meet all relevant technical requirements and are similar to many other contemporary works.

A reasonable conclusion is that individual and structure interact in an intricate way. Research combining the interest in the individual with a desire to put this individual in a social context can help to increase knowledge of musical life in times past.

Centre and periphery

The traditional way to regard European music history in the 19th century is to locate a few European cities and countries (France and Germany; Paris, Berlin, Leipzig and

Vienna) as "centre" and other countries and cities as "periphery". The selection is also determined from the viewpoint that it is composers and their compositions that are most important. A city like London will therefore not find a place in such a traditional music history, even though it was one of the most important and most developed cities in terms of public musical life throughout the 19th century.

Even though cities such as Paris and Berlin have long art music traditions and a high number of music institutions and successful composers, it is not relevant in all contexts to assume that these cities are centres. I would like to problematize the definition of "centre" and, as a consequence, conclude by briefly touching upon the issue of the importance of national borders in writing music history.

"Centre" in the music scene in the 19th century is not something absolute. That Leipzig was the centre for several young Swedish men and women who wanted an education in music is clear. Similarly, Paris was the centre for composers from different countries with ambitions to make a career in the mid-19th century as opera composers. But in other contexts it is not obvious that a few major cities are considered "centres". If the research is directed towards the musical life in a particular city or region, then of course this city or region must be the centre for the research, although comparisons with other cities can also be made. In such cases it is also possible that cities other than the largest offer more interesting material for comparison. For example, cities like Stockholm, Copenhagen, Kassel and Hanover, to name just a few, can be interesting from a comparative perspective.

During the 19th century, musicians' migrations within Europe increased. Research that focuses on musicians' movements shows that the trips could go between smaller towns without any connections to the big cities at all. As an example, one can mention August Söderman (1832–1876) who, in his work as a theatre musician in the 1850s, during a couple of summers toured from Stockholm to Turku (Åbo), Porvoo (Borgå), Helsinki, Viborg and back – a route that, for decades, had been used by many musicians and theatre companies. Individual musicians could also travel between cities, such as the German composer and conductor Ignaz Lachner (1807–1895) who travelled from Hamburg to Stockholm, to serve as conductor at the Royal Opera for a few years, and then returned to Frankfurt am Main. The largest cities were not interesting in this context and national borders were probably of less concern than the possibility of getting a paid job.

Therefore, research focus has crucial importance for how concepts of centre and periphery are perceived. But even in contexts where it is relevant to talk about the centre and the periphery, it can be worthwhile to pay particular attention to the relational aspect.

As previously mentioned, for most of the 19th century it was necessary to go abroad to get a music education. The brothers Fritz (1838–1883) and August Söderman both travelled from Stockholm to the Conservatory in Leipzig to study instrumental playing and composition in the 1850s. The experiences gained from their studies have been recognized but the contact between the countries has rarely been discussed. Instead, one has generally quite unreflectively made the assumption that the relationship has been in one direction only, from the foreign conservatory to the Swedish students. But

"relationship" has direction in two ways. For a music historiography that puts musical life in focus, questions about relationships between musicians, institutions, and the public will be of central interest. The spread of music and the movement of musicians become central. To view relationships and movement as central to the development of the musical life, the perspective needs to be lifted up over the national music horizon. Instead of the traditional national music history, one can look at larger regions as kind of "common marketplaces", in which composers, musicians and singers move between places both within a country and across national borders.

Final remarks

Writing music history of the 19th century with an emphasis on musical life and its development means that individual composers and their compositions are still of great importance, but they must be seen in a wider context. This conclusion has once again been highlighted by the work of *Swedish Musical Heritage*. This work has indeed given a detailed knowledge of many fascinating music personalities, but more than this it has demonstrated the importance of describing structural and material conditions for musical life, of describing the history of music from a broad perspective and not just from a narrow perspective that focuses only on a few chosen composers.

Abstract

Swedish Musical Heritage is a six-year-long project whose purpose is to make music, that is rarely played, more accessible so that it might gain a new audience. The project is funded by the Swedish Royal Academy of Music. Biographical texts on more than 300 Swedish composers, mainly unknown even for specialists in Swedish music history, provide a background for the use of the musical works, whether for performance or for research. The writing of these biographical texts is the topic of this article – the subject of which more precisely contains discussions around this rather old-fashioned task. The authors of this article are involved in this work in various ways and write from their respective starting points. The conclusion we have reached collectively is that the writing of biographies is of great value; the image of Swedish music history is deepened, female composers have become more visible, the musical life outside of Stockholm is described, and the great variety of roles a composer could have becomes clear.

PER DAHL

Text, Identity and Belief in Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms*

Introduction

In 1926, Igor Stravinsky rejoined the Russian Orthodox Church. Throughout the rest of his life, he would use religious texts in several musical works, starting with the *Pater Noster* for four-part a cappella choir, which he wrote following his first communion on 9 April 1926. Also in the 1920s, Stravinsky emerged as a leading proponent of neoclassicism in music, a style that opposed the perpetuation of German expressionism and the associated new compositional techniques that had been devised by Schoenberg. One of the fundamental principles of Stravinsky's neoclassicism was that music is only about music. This, of course, raised questions about the relation between text and music in his vocal works and led to Stravinsky having to repeatedly underline in his statements and writings that there was no alignment between the two in what he composed.

In this article, I will present an analysis of the text-music relations in Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms*, composed in Nice and Charavines between January and 15 August 1930. The score includes the following dedication: 'Cette symphonie compose à gloire de DIEU est dediée au "Boston Symphony Orchestra" à l'occasion du cinquantaire de son existence'.[1] The orchestration indicates a rather personal investment in the commission of a work for the Boston Symphony Orchestra and I will argue that there is evidence of a personal identification with the text's religious aspects as well. This position questions the way in which Stravinsky's identity is fashioned—in terms of his religious beliefs and their significance in his combination of religious texts and music—through the narratives of Stravinsky biographer Robert Craft and Stravinsky himself and in the work of many scholars of the 1960s and 1970s. (This portrayal of his beliefs and identity has, of course, already been revisited and challenged by Taruskin[2] and Walsh,[3] among others, in recent decades.) My perspective will be that of the listener; I will focus on the epistemological possibilities for creating meaning or imparting significance based on elements and symbols in the text and their expressive qualities in relation to the music.

1   Stravinsky wrote the third movement first, dating it 27 April 1930 and inscribing it 'a week after Ascension', while the first was finished on 15 August and inscribed 'Assumption Day in the Roman Church'. The second was completed on 17 July and he pasted a drawing of the Crucifixion into its sketchbook accompanied by the words: 'Adveniat regnum tuum' [Thy kingdom come].
2   Taruskin, R. (1996). *Stravinsky and the Russian traditions: a biography of the works through Mavra*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
3   Walsh, S. (1999). *Stravinsky: a creative spring : Russia and France, 1882-1934*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

I will start with some historical facts and reflections regarding Stravinsky's religious convictions in the time before he composed the *Symphony of Psalms*. Subsequently, after reviewing some early reactions to his religious music, I will revisit the idea of absolute music as a premise for neoclassicism. I will then analyse the text-music relations in the symphony's three movements, before evaluating the substance of his religious belief in tandem with the aesthetics of neoclassicism.

Religious background

The initial christening of Igor Fedorovich Stravinsky took place in the Russian Orthodox Church in Oranienbaum some days after he was born on 17 June (O.S. 5 June) 1882. In adulthood, after gaining admittance to the circle of Diaghilev, Stravinsky formally left the church in 1910.[4] During the 1920s, however, he became increasingly concerned about questions of religion and faith and, at the 1925 ISCM festival in Venice, he purchased a book about Francis of Assisi that he would read in its entirety that very same night.[5] At this festival, Stravinsky was to play his Piano Sonata. Just prior to the performance, he developed a large abscess on his right index finger. He then prayed for the abscess to heal, and, miraculously, it did.[6]

In 1926, as Stravinsky re-joined the Russian Orthodox Church, he had one of the most powerful experiences of his life. After a spring concert tour spanning Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Harlem, Budapest, Vienna and Zagreb, Stravinsky embarked on his first journey by airplane (from Trieste to Venice). On the plane, he encountered a group of pilgrims on their way to Padua to celebrate the 700th anniversary of St. Anthony's birth.[7] In the Stravinsky biography by White (1966/1979, p. 90), we read the following:

> 'I happened to enter the Basilica', he [Stravinsky] writes in his memoir *Dialogues*, 'just as the Saint's body was exhibited. I saw the coffin, I knelt, and I prayed. I asked that a sign of recognition be given when and if my prayer was answered, and as it was answered, and with the sign, I do not hesitate to call that moment of recognition the most real in my life'.[8]

An immediate consequence of this answered prayer was Stravinsky's composition of the *Pater Noster* for mixed choir a cappella, his first work without instruments. The

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4   Even as a teenager, he had started to withdraw from the church. Stravinsky, I., & Craft, R. (1969). *Retrospectives and conclusion*. New York: Knopf. 198.

5   White, E. W. (1979). *Stravinsky: the composer and his works*. London: Faber and Faber. 89.

6   Duke, V. (1955). *Passport to Paris*: Little, Brown. 200.

7   Stravinsky probably confuses the dates in his narrative here; it was the 700th anniversary of St. Francis's death that was celebrated in October 1926 (St. Anthony's dates are 1195–13 June 1232). Nevertheless, St. Anthony is known to have inspired several miracles in 1226, so any or all of these might have been the subject of the pilgrimage.

8   I have not found this utterance from Stravinsky in either the American Stravinsky, I., & Craft, R. (1963). *Dialogues and a Diary*. New York., the English Stravinsky, I. & Craft, R. (1968). *Dialogues and A Diary*. London: Faber & Faber. or the shortened *Stravinsky, I., & Craft, R. (1982). Dialogues*. Berkeley: University of California Press. This episode is also not mentioned, oddly, in Stravinsky, I. (1936/1990). *An Autobiography 1903-1934*. London: Marion Boyars.

exact date of composition is not known, but it was certainly after his first communion on 9 April 1926 and probably sometime in the early summer months of 1926.[9] The text was Slavonic (*Otče naš*), the language in which Stravinsky prayed. *Pater Noster* was intended for use in the Russian Orthodox Church liturgy and, in the first instance, for the Russian church in Nice.[10]

Such a conversion was surprising indeed to many of Stravinsky's friends, including Diaghilev, and biographers have been compelled to propose a number of explanations. Robert Craft, who would become Stravinsky's close colleague after Stravinsky settled in the United States, claims that Stravinsky's new religiosity arose out of a complicated emotional situation and, in particular, the guilt that threatened to overwhelm him.[11] Behind this guilt was his extensive infidelity, which had rendered his marriage to his cousin Yekaterina (Katya) a formal, empty arrangement. His affairs, though, were beginning to stabilise around Vera Sudeykina (whom he would marry after Katya's death from cancer in 1939) and it may be that other explanations hold more weight here.

In fact, a wave of interest in all things religious arose among artists and intellectuals in Paris during the mid-1920s. Among these was a sizable population of exiled Russian artists and intellectuals and the church on rue Daru became their gathering place—a bastion that seemed able to withstand the enormous philosophical and literary force being mustered by the French Catholics. Among the assembled there, though, disagreements arose. Some people wanted to embrace the strictly Orthodox values and customs that were now being discarded in the newly revolutionised Russia while others, who were more Westernised (Stravinsky among them), considered Catholicism a much more open and broad scaffolding for their thought, art and beliefs.[12]

Moreover, for Stravinsky, his acquaintance with Jacques Maritain's article 'Art et scolastique' (1920)[13] would underpin an Aristotelian-Thomist understanding of reality that provided him with a broad basis for the humanist practice of art and religion.[14] Maritain, also associated with the *renouveau Catholique* movement, argued that the

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9   Walsh, S. (1999). *Stravinsky: a creative spring : Russia and France, 1882-1934*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 433. See also Dahl, P. (2011). *Verkanalysen som fortolkningsarena*. Oslo: Unipub.

10 In Stravinsky, I. (1972) *Themes and Conclusions*. 40. Stravinsky writes: 'My *Pater Noster, Credo, Ave Maria*, and the unfinished prayer *And the Cherubin* . . . were inspired out of antipathy to the bad music and worse singing in the Russian Church in Nice, where I became a communicant in 1925, the year before composing the *Pater Noster'*.

11 Stravinsky, V., & Craft, R. (1979). *Stravinsky in pictures and documents*. London: Hutchinson. 211.

12 According to Vlad, R. (1958/1971). *Stravinsky* (F. a. A. Fuller, Trans.). London: Oxford University Press. 165. Stravinsky was reported to have said that he was 'close to Catholicism, and it would not be surprising if he became a Catholic one day'.

13 Maritain, J. (1935). *Art et scolastique* (3. éd., rev. et corr. ed.). Paris,: L. Rouart et fils.

14 Stravinsky and Maritain met for the first time in 1926 and became close acquaintances in 1929, two years after the second edition of Maritain's 'Art et scolastique', in which Maritain apologises for associating Stravinsky with Wagner in terms of music 'that dulled and "debauched" the eye, ear or spirit' in the first edition. In his book Stravinsky, I., & Craft, R. (1962). *Expositions and developments*. London: Faber and Faber. 76. Stravinsky dismisses any influence of Maritain upon his conversion. Walsh, S. (2006). *Stravinsky: the second exile: France and America, 1934-1971*. New York: Knopf. 170. notes that, starting in the 1920s, both Igor and Katya were reading Maritain and Aquinas (especially his *Summa Theologica*), as well as other central works of the Catholic church's theological literature.

lack of clarity in the Catholic Church, and in late Romantic thought, shared common causes and a common remedy: to depersonalise expression and return to the medieval ideals of humility and anonymity wherein acceptance of a divine sense of order was implicit. In 1926, his friend Jean Cocteau published a collection of essays titled *Le Rappel A L'Ordre*, comprising a strong attack on Romanticism that linked Maritain's ideas—that is, that art is not about emoting (a Romantic trait) but about intellectualising—to the concept of neoclassicism.[15] In combining Thomas Aquinas's thought and Henri Bergson's phenomenology, Maritain was able to link his arguments directly to a major topic of contemporary discussion: whether aesthetic theory could function as an arbiter of taste when it came to spiritual values. This discussion was important to Stravinsky as he developed his understanding of text-music relations, especially with regard to religious texts.

In *Expositions and Developments*, then, Stravinsky writes: 'For some years before my actual "conversion", a mood of acceptance had been cultivated in me by a reading of the Gospels and by other religious literature'.[16] The work of St. Augustine (354–430), St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), Bishop Jacques Bossuet (1627–1704), Léon Bloy (1846–1917) and the orthodox theologian Victor Nesmelov (1863–1937) could be found in Stravinsky's library.[17] He engaged in discussions with the Neo-Thomist George Bernanos (1888–1948) and, starting in 1923, with the Russian immigrant Nikolai Berdyaev (1874–1948) whose philosophy might be labelled Christian existentialism.

At this time, Stravinsky was working on the oratorio *Oedipus Rex* (1927), for which Jean Daniélou had translated into Latin Jean Cocteau's text based on Sophocles' tragedy. Stravinsky recalls in his autobiography the pleasure he took in working with the Latin text, because he could separate these words from their literary meanings and use them instead as phonetic material for his composition. He concludes: 'This, too, has for centuries been the Church's attitude towards music, and has prevented it from falling into sentimentalism, and consequently into individualism'.[18] Later in life, Stravinsky would nuance his view of the church's music by distinguishing between secular and sacred religious music. The former was typical of Romanticism and was inspired by human love 'in its ordinariness, by art, by goodness and by God knows what'.[19] The latter bore the stamp of genuine faith. In *Conversations with Stravinsky*, the composer responds as follows to the question of whether one must possess religious faith in order to be able to write in the old church music forms: 'Of course. And not simply be one who believes in symbolic figures, but in a personal God, a personal Devil and the miracles of the Church'.[20] As I will demonstrate below, this distinction between an operationalised belief in symbolic figures and the acceptance of a personal God and Devil, and the miracles, is a crucial aspect of Stravinsky's identity as a composer of religious music.

15   Cocteau, J. (1926). *Le rappel à l'ordre*: Stock.
16   Stravinsky, I., & Craft, R. (1962). *Expositions and developments*. London: Faber and Faber. 63-64.
17   Stravinsky, V., & Craft, R. (1979). *Stravinsky in pictures and documents*. London: Hutchinson. 356.
18   Stravinsky, I. (1936/1990). *An Autobiography 1903-1934*. London: Marion Boyars. 128.
19   Stravinsky, I., & Craft, R. (1959). *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky*. Lond.: Faber & Faber. 103.
20   Stravinsky, I., & Craft, R. (1959). *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky*. Lond.: Faber & Faber. 104.

Stravinsky chose the Russian Orthodox Church, he said, for its language. His own habitual language of prayer was Slavonic and, though he admired the distant sound of Latin for its almost ritual suggestiveness, the embodiment and the incarnation were so crucial to his religious conviction that he found himself drawn to Russian Orthodoxy, even though he always considered himself in everyday life closer to Catholicism. That is to say, while the Western churches, Catholic and Protestant alike, have a very strong focus on the Word (with reference to John 1.1), the Russian Orthodox Church relates to these texts slightly differently. It does not think of the church as something built upon text, because the church existed before the (New) Testament. The Holy Bible conveys the faith of the church and, inspired by the Holy Spirit, represents a canonical example to be followed. Yet, to the Russian Orthodox faithful, de-emphasising the importance of the Word (and its many literate renderings) allows for a proper emphasis to be put upon the embodiment and the incarnation.

Stravinsky's compositional process also demonstrates aspects of embodiment, which may further explain the attraction. He always composed at the piano and described the process of composition in *Musical Poetics* as follows:

> Composing, for me, is putting into an order a certain number of these sounds according to certain interval-relationships. This activity leads to a search for the centre upon which the series of sounds involved in my undertaking should converge. Thus, if a centre is given, I shall have to find a combination that converges upon it. If, on the other hand, an as yet unoriented combination has been found, I shall have to determine the centre toward which it should lead.[21]

Later in the same work, he continues: 'Let me have something finite, definite—matter that can lend itself to my operation only insofar as it is commensurate with my possibilities'.[22]

Stravinsky's predilection for strictness and order permeates central written works like the *Musical Poetics*,[23] *Autobiography*[24] and many books of conversations. It is also to be found in aspects of his daily life, especially those directly connected to his composing.[25] In a

21 Stravinsky, I. (1956). *Poetics of music in the form of six lessons* ([1st Vintage ed.). New York,: Vintage Books. 39. In Copland, A. (1968). *The new music 1900-1960* (Rev. and enl. ed. ed.). London. 94. Copland describes Stravinsky's compositional process as follows: "With Stravinsky one senses that the place for each note in each melody and chord has been found for it only after a process of meticulous elimination, and the place found is usually so unexpected and original that one can imagine the notes themselves being surprised at finding themselves situated where they are – 'out of place' – so to speak."

22 Stravinsky, I. (1956). *Poetics of music in the form of six lessons* ([1st Vintage ed.). New York,: Vintage Books. 67.

23 Stravinsky, I. (1956). *Poetics of music in the form of six lessons* ([1st Vintage ed.). New York,: Vintage Books.

24 Stravinsky, I. (1936/1990). *An Autobiography 1903-1934*. London: Marion Boyars.

25 After his religious conversion, in fact, his sketches are occasionally dated by the church calendar. Walsh, S. (1999). *Stravinsky: a creative spring : Russia and France, 1882-1934*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 499.

number of places, he notes that what fascinates him about texts is usually not the meaning or history/pedigree but instead the rhythmic relations between words or syllables. Yet certain 'elevated' compositions (such as *Oedipus Rex*) transcended this blunt physicality of language. In those cases, he would shun the vernacular for the Latin, which he called 'monumental and inaccessible to all triviality', and in this way, his music realises a 'distancing of voice from utterance'[26]—a condition that literary theorists label 'authorial absence' (see, for example, Roland Barthes's 1977 work 'The Death of the Author').[27] For his own part, Stravinsky, of course, does not appear to accept any such absence. He has an obligation to invent music and he continues to insist upon the expressivity of his vocal music even when divorced from the direct content of its text (and/or its vernacular re-presentation).

For Stravinsky, this position is simply an extension of his fundamental belief that music has its own ordered nature and must avoid any extra-musical, literary representation of its text's content. Yet Stravinsky's assumption (and that of the co-constructors of his aesthetic theory) that it is possible to separate a word's linguistic meaning from its sound structure is somewhat ambiguous. He bases his theory of language on the language's written meaning (and the meaning complex it represents) but he does not account for the dimensions and qualities that the spoken language contributes to the construction of meaning. When Stravinsky is fascinated by word and syllable, it is the sound of language that captures his interest; when he rejects language as an untoward influence upon his way of composing, it is the content of language to which he refers.

Stravinsky's statement 'My Octour is a musical object' (1923) was nearly as shocking as his new musical idiom.[28] It underlined a fresh aesthetic that, for a long time afterward, was taken as a point of departure for analysing Stravinsky's religious works. Stravinsky's friend and biographer Alexander Tansman proclaims:[29]

> Stravinsky's religious music, then, should be considered as a sort of professional offering from a musician for the purpose of glorifying the Divinity, a sort of musical *ex voto*; yet it has no illustrative or literary relationship with a greater order of things, it is not a transcendental and exalted transcription in sound by a mystic describing his vision.

Wilfrid Mellers sees the *Symphony of Psalms* as a revelation of God's love because the composer attains, in the last movement, the love of God. However, Mellers continues: 'In comparison, Stravinsky's later works seem to be in love with the idea of God, rather than with God Himself' (see *Stravinsky's Oedipus as 20th-Century Hero*).[30] To me

26   Stravinsky, I. (1936/1990). *An Autobiography 1903-1934*. London: Marion Boyars. 53.
27   Barthes, R., & Heath, S. (1977). *Image, music, text*. London: Fontana Press.
28   Aaron Copland, who was present at the premiere of the Octet, wrote: 'Everyone was asking why Stravinsky traded his Russian heritage for what looked very much like a mess of eighteenth-century mannerisms'. Copland, A. (1968). *The new music 1900-1960* (Rev. and enl. ed. ed.). London. 72.
29   Vlad, R. (1958/1971). *Stravinsky* (F. a. A. Fuller, Trans.). London: Oxford University Press. 152.
30   Mellers, W. (1963). Stravinsky's Oedipus as 20th Century Hero. In P. H. Lang (Ed.), *Stravinsky A New Apprisal of his Work* (pp. 34-46). New York: W.W.Norton & Company Inc. 45.

Stravinsky's last works from 1961-66 expresses embodiment and incarnation far more than just a fascination of the idea of God.[31]

Paul Henry Lang is even more critical:[32]

Even when he is wondrously lyrical—which is rare—as in the *Symphony of Psalms*, he sings with a certain planned precision . . . there is almost always a greater interest in impeccable style and manner than in message. (pp. 10–11)

In this music no meaning is possible for the 'mind' to review, or for the 'spirit' to kindle at, till the 'brain' has mastered the musico-geometric relationship. This concept of music is mechanical-scientific; its structure is supposed to be as intelligible as that of a piece of machinery to the engineer who built it; no aesthetic-ethical problem is involved. (p. 11)

Is he a genuinely religious composer of 'sacred' music? No, he could not be, for his ideal world is too little concerned with the final inwardness of life. (p. 18)

Yet, Lang's conclusion rings false because it is heavily influenced by what Stravinsky himself says about his music and his life. Lang employs Stravinsky's descriptions of his own music in an argument about Stravinsky's religiosity. I would argue that Stravinsky defines religiosity and music as respective life spheres that do not admit to written notation in a manner that would join them together. In other words, the wrong question has been posed.

If I must, then, interpret examples from the *Symphony of Psalms* as connoting Stravinsky's personal engagement with the presentation of textual content, others have differed in this regard. Ernest Ansermet writes:[33]

As Stravinsky, in response to some form of inner compulsion, does not make of his music an act of self-expression, his religious music can reveal only a kind of 'made-up' religiosity. The *Symphony of Psalms*, for instance, expresses the religiosity of others—of the imaginary choir of which the actual singing choir is an *analogon*: but it must be agreed that the expression of this religiosity is itself absolutely authentic.[34]

I would maintain, despite Stravinsky's claims to the contrary, that his composition is an 'act of self-expression'. All of his life and his identity related to his vocation as a composer, and his adopted position as a defender of absolute music seems to me an act separating his artistic-political gamesmanship from his (religious) *credo*.

31   *A Sermon, a Narrative, and a Prayer (1960-61). The Flood (1961-62). Abraham and Isaac (1862-63). Variations (1863-64). Introitus (1965) and Requiem Canticles (1965-66).*

32   Lang, P. H. (1963). *Stravinsky A New Apprisal of His Work*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. 10, 11, 18.

33   Ansermet, E. (1961). *Les fondements de la musique dans la conscience humaine*. Neuchatel. 498.

34   Walsh, S. (1999). *Stravinsky: a creative spring : Russia and France, 1882-1934*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 504.

Neoclassicism and the idea of absolute music

In 1923, Stravinsky published an essay in the New York journal *The Arts* that described his Octet in a series of concise, declarative statements:

> My Octour is a musical object. This object has a form and that form is influ-
> enced by the musical matter with which it is composed. The difference of matter
> determines the different form. One does not do the same with marble that one
> does with stone . . . My Octour is not an 'emotive' work but a musical composi-
> tion based on objective elements which are sufficient in themselves.[35]

This passage is a turning point in the history of the idea of music as autonomous, self-contained and wholly self-referential. 'Absolute music' would, in turn, supply the superstructure of neoclassicism. Stravinsky's provocative declaration represents a complete rejection of, for example, Johann Mattheson's (1681–1764) definition of music as a *practice*—that is, the 'science and art of setting out adroit and pleasing sounds wisely, joining them correctly, and presenting them delightfully, so that through their euphony God's honour and all virtues might be promoted'. This definition, Mattheson insists, encompasses 'the material, the form, and the final cause of our entire system of music'.[36] It is worth noting that Mattheson refers to music as a combination of science <u>and</u> art, while Stravinsky's focus on the *Octour* as a musical object is a positivistic perspective skipping Mattheson's 'pleasing sounds' and 'presenting them delightfully'. Later, in Stravinsky's description of the process of composition in *Musical Poetics* in 1956 he is in line with what Thomas Kuhn came to call puzzle solving in normal science ("putting into order a certain number of these sounds").[37]

While philosophers and critics have always acknowledged the importance of form as an aesthetic category, the idea of an art consisting entirely and exclusively of form and lacking representational content of any kind has posed a conceptual challenge. Whether this conceptual problem was restricted to linguistic concepts or included non-linguistic concepts manifested in mimesis, and by that defining the balance between effect and essence in music, was treated differently in history. Between antiquity and the middle of the sixteenth century in the West, music's essence was understood as the direct cause of its effect. Subsequently, it appears that the ear, along with its fellow senses, began to challenge the mind as a source of knowledge and, from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century, commentators on music generally saw the qualities of expressivity, form, beauty, autonomy and disclosiveness as mutually reinforcing. Rhetoric and mimesis offered yet another means with which to explain instrumental

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35   As Carr, M. A. (2014). *After the Rite. Stravinsky's Path to Neo-classicism 1914-25*: Oxford University
     Press. 249. underlines: 'In his article "Some Ideas about My Octour", which was written by Stravinsky
     himself in French and translated to English, he concluded that: "Form, in my music, derives from
     counterpoint. I consider counterpoint as the only means through which the attention of the compo-
     ser is concentrated on purely musical questions'. I would say that making a double fugue on the text
     of a prayer is therefore quite illustrative of Stravinsky's notion of the relation between music and text.
36   Mattheson, J., & Reimann, M. (1954). *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Vol. 5). Kassel: Bärenreiter. 6.
37   Kuhn, T. S. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

music's power to express and arouse emotions (the *musica pathetica* of the Baroque). This way of thinking about music as the 'language of the heart' or the 'language of feelings' was made possible by shifting attitudes toward not only music but also language itself.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, however, mimesis and rhetoric had begun to give way to another, more abstract quality that would place even greater demands on the attentiveness and taste of listeners: beauty. This transition contributed to the idea of the 'fine arts' and helped to establish the new conceptual sphere of aesthetics. In his *Aesthetica*, Alexander Baumgarten (1714–1762) defined aesthetics as the 'science of sensory cognition', the goal of which is 'the perfection of sensory cognition as such', and he explicitly equated this perfection with beauty (*pulcritudo*).[38] The idea of the fine arts was founded on the conviction that the arts dedicated to beauty should serve no purpose other than contemplation for their own sake. This belief, which initially gained currency in the eighteenth century, would eventually become what Richard Taruskin has called 'the dominant regulative concept of both art-theory and art-practice for more than two centuries'.[39] Baumgarten's original idea of aesthetic as a science of 'sensory cognition' is more in line with today's 'embodied knowledge' in artistic research discourse. Stravinsky's preference for the incarnation, the effect of a physical object and the embodied knowledge (practitioner's knowledge) is closer to Baumgarten's original concept that the l'art pour l'art attitude at fin de siècle.

The term 'absolute music' was coined in 1846 by none other than Richard Wagner, who used it as a pejorative in his efforts to expose the limitations of purely instrumental music, thereby justifying his own theory of opera. It was less an attack on formalism per se than on the idea that music should exist for its own sake and not for the sake of some broader social purpose. As Mark Evan Bonds points out:

> In an ironic twist, those who considered music to be autonomous and entirely self-referential appropriated the very term Wagner had used to denigrate that conception of art. The most important figure on this side of the debate was the Viennese music critic Eduard Hanslick, who, in his brief treatise *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* (*On the Musically Beautiful,* 1854), celebrated precisely those qualities of abstraction and isolation so repugnant to Wagner.[40]

Hanslick insists that the effect of music has nothing to do with its essence, and vice versa.[41] He does not deny music's ability to move us, of course, but he removes this

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38   Søren Kjørup describes this cultural moment, using Kuhn's concepts, as follows: 'A dawning feeling for aesthetic qualities had given rise to more and more anomalies within the current logical-conceptual paradigm, and Baumgarten solved the problems by creating a new paradigm. And to do that, he had to invent a new concept of knowledge, sensuous knowledge, and a new theoretical discipline, aesthetics' Kjørup, S. (2006). *Another way of knowing : Baumgarten, aesthetics, and the concept of sensuous cognition* (Vol. no. 01). Bergen: Kunsthøgskolen i Bergen. Baumgarten, A.G. (1961). *Aesthetica : (Frankfurt 1750/58)*. Hildesheim.

39   Taruskin, R. (2006). Is There a Baby in the Bathwater? (Part I). *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 63*(3), 163-185. 163.

40   Bonds, M. E. (2014). *Absolute music: the history of an idea.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2.

41   Hanslick, E. (1854/1973). *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen: ein Beitrag zur Revision der Ästhetik der Tonkunst.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

quality from music's essence. Instead, Hanslick looks to the natural sciences as the only rational approach with which to gain knowledge of this essence. He was determined to ground the laws of beauty in the immutable laws of nature that in turn buttressed his conception of beauty as an objective quality that was not subject to the vagaries of individual perception. The essence of music lies in an autonomous and specifically musical (*Musikalisch-*) manifestation of beauty (*Schönen*); its only content, to quote the treatise's most celebrated phrase, consists of *tönend bewegte Formen* (tonally animated forms). As such, the goal of music aesthetics became a search for 'meaning' through a connection to philosophy in general rather than to the phenomenology of the arts in particular. This top-down perspective restricts value-laden utterances about music to those that originate from arguments that are already part of the music-theoretical discourse. I think Stravinsky quite often went down this path himself in his ex-post facto comments.

The identification of absolute music with a specific repertory grew still more pronounced in the summer of 1855, with the first appearance—and almost immediate acceptance—of a new term for works of purely instrumental music that were *not* absolute: program music. Franz Liszt coined it in a long essay published in instalments in Brendel's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.[42] Liszt's neologism, in turn, helped a new generation of composers justify an approach to composition that incorporated *Poesie*—conceptual content rather than merely superficial representation—into purely instrumental music without the onus of the reductive 'tone-painting'. In my analysis below, I will examine all of this from the listener's perspective and search for this particular relation to meaning construction (that is, conceptual content) in the text-music interaction in the *Symphony of Psalms*.

In yet another swing of the aesthetic pendulum, some of the most prominent composers who were active at the turn of the century chose to turn their backs on program music and embrace the aesthetics of purity offered by absolute music. Schoenberg's abandonment of program music has been overshadowed by his more obvious break with tonality around this same time. Stravinsky was equally anxious to hide the evidence linking at least some of his earlier works to programmatic content. He went to great lengths to repress the connections between his *Scherzo fantastique* of 1908 and Maurice Maeterlinck's *La vie de abeilles* (1901), a socio-philosophical essay that takes as its point of departure the 'life of bees'. This repression might also have been the result of his apprenticeship with Rimsky-Korsakov. Taruskin has also pointed to instances of Stravinsky's attempts to cover up his programmatic tracks, most notably in the ballet *Le Sacre du printemps*, which he repeatedly labelled, from the 1920s onward, a 'purely musical' work.[43] When my analysis of *Symphony of Psalms* will use the concept 'musical-rhetorical figures', I cannot expect any support from Stravinsky's ex-post facto statements.

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42   See Bonds 2014, p. 210, for a complete reference.
43   Taruskin, R. (1995). A Myth of the Twentieth Century: The Rite of Spring, the Tradition of the New, and "The Music Itself". *Modernism/Modernity, 2*(1), 1-26.

As a leading figure among neoclassical composers, Stravinsky, for the rest of his life, constantly reiterated a link between the aesthetics of neoclassicism and the idea of absolute music:

> Why not admit that music has an intrinsic value, independent of the sentiments or images that it may evoke by analogy, and that can only corrupt the hearer's judgement? Music needs no help. It is sufficient unto itself. Don't look for anything else in it beyond what it already contains.[44]

Elsewhere, he says of *Abraham and Isaac*:[45]

> I do not wish the listener any luck in discovering musical descriptions or illustrations: to my knowledge none were composed, and as I see it the notes themselves are the end of the road. Though I thought long and deeply about the meaning of the text, I am also unaware of symbolism in my use of canons, or of expressive rhythmical devices. Anyone who pretends to hear such things in, for example, the passage referring to Isaac and the two youths, will have made too much, I think, of what for me is no more than a coincidence.

Analysis

Stravinsky's first commissioned work with a religious text was, as mentioned above, the *Symphony of Psalms.* In his *Dialogues*, Stravinsky notes:

> The commissioning of the *Symphony of Psalms* began with the publisher's routine suggestion that I write something popular. I took the word, not in the publisher's meaning of 'adapting to the understanding of the people', but in the sense of 'something universally admired', and I even chose Psalm 150 in part for its popularity, though another and compelling reason was my eagerness to counter the many composers who has abused these magisterial verses as pegs for their own lyrico-sentimental 'feelings'. The Psalms are poems of exaltation, but also of anger and judgment, and even of curses.[46]

Due to a delayed performance in Boston, the premiere of this work was in Brussels on 13 December 1930, conducted by Ernest Ansermet. At this performance, the programme carried the following subtitles for the three movements: I: Prelude, II: Double Fugue, III: Allegro symphonique. These subtitles were not reproduced in the score. The first performance in America was in Boston on 19 December, conducted by Kousse-

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44   Originally in Stravinsky, 'Quelques confidences sur la musique' (1935), in White, E. W. (1979). *Stravinsky: the composer and his works*. London: Faber and Faber. 574-577. Translated from French by Taruskin in Taruskin, R. (1995). A Myth of the Twentieth Century: The Rite of Spring, the Tradition of the New, and "The Music Itself". *Modernism/Modernity, 2*(1), 1-26. and also cited in Bonds, M. E. (2014). *Absolute music: the history of an idea*. New York: Oxford University Press. 259.

45   Newman, A., Craft, R., & Stravinsky, I. (1967). *Bravo Stravinsky*. Cleveland,: World Pub. Co. reprinted on the cover of *The New Stravinsky* MS 7386 (1967).

46   Stravinsky, I., & Craft, R. (1963). *Dialogues and a Diary*. New York.

vitzky. Stravinsky selected from the Vulgate verses 13 and 14 of Psalm 38, verses 2–4 of Psalm 39 and the whole of Psalm 150.[47]

I will point to three means of generating meaning/semantic resonances between text and music in this analysis of the *Symphony of Psalms*. This categorisation is not exclusive; it should be seen simply as an analytical tool with which to group Stravinsky's musical expressions of his chosen texts:

1   Omission of tone-paintings
2   Use of musical-rhetorical figures
3   Enhancing text elements in a subjective/personal way (Credo elements)

The first item is perfectly predictable, given Stravinsky's consistent rejection of any direct connection between text and music in his compositions. Yet this act of omission is nevertheless an act, and one with connotations for meaning, if the listener is inclined to hear it as part of a larger symbolic utterance.

As early as Renaissance music, both sacred and secular, there is ample evidence that composers employed various musical-rhetorical means to illustrate or emphasize words and ideas in the text. In analysing the text-music relations in Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms* a reference to the concept musical-rhetorical figures is natural. However, the 'musical-rhetorical figures' has a long and twisted history. In the first half of the twentieth century, writings by Schering[48], Kretzschmar[49] and later Unger[50] developed a notion of a Figurenlehre in Baroque music consisting of stereotyped musical figures with specific affective connotations. The repetition of combinations of textual meaning and musical expression in vocal music was seen as contributing to the establishment of an objective meaning that transcends the actual music involved in certain figures and gestures. These musical-rhetorical figures realised a system of typification when they were integrated as elements of expression in pure instrumental music.[51] In this understanding, the musical-rhetorical figures were seen as consistent with the aesthetics of neoclassicism.

Nevertheless, in the second half of the twentieth century, research on historical sources reveal a magnitude of possible relations between text and music, making it impossible to give direction to associations or conclusion of content.[52] The detailed

47   For the Authorised Version, the corresponding references are to verses 12 and 13 of Psalm 39, verses 1, 2 and 3 of Psalm 40 and the whole of Psalm 150.
48   Schering, A. (1908). Die Lehre von den musikalischen Figuren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch, 21*, 106-114.
49   Kretzschmar, H. (1911). Allgemeines und Besonderes zur Affektenlehre. *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters, 18*, 63-77.
50   Unger, H.-H. (1941). *Die Beziehungen zwichen Musik und Rhetorik im 16.-18. Jahrhundert*. Würtsburg.
51   Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Harmondsworth: Penguin. use the term typification to indicate objectivation of the second order—that is, an identification of relation between signs free of any connection to the original context. There is also a connection here to the concept of topoi. Hatten, R. S. (2004). *Interpreting musical gestures, topics, and tropes : Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert*. Bloomington,Ind.: Indiana University Press.
52   Dahlhaus, C. (1986). Zur Geschichtlichkeit der musikalischen Figurenlehre *Festschrift martin Ruhnke zum 65. Geburtstag* (pp. 83-93). Neuhausen-Stuttgart.

catalogue of musical figures in Bartel's *Musica Poetica*[53] lists different forms taken from definitions and descriptions of varying degrees of exactness in many seventeenth- and eighteenth- century treatises without the 'strained associations and misconstrued conclusions' (p. ix) imposed on them by writers in the early twentieth century attempting to establish a unified system of the Figurenlehre in spite of the complexities and contradictions found among the original sources. Stravinsky in the 1920s had of course no access to this modern understanding, so in my analysis I will use the 'musical-rhetorical figures' in the understanding of his contemporaries when composing the *Symphony of Psalms*.

My third category, Credo elements, arises from a juxtaposition of the two addressees in the dedication. Taking Stravinsky's nod to '*la gloire de DIEU*' at face value, I will look for possible connections between text and the use of musical gestures that reflect a personal identification with the religious meaning in the text. Even though the texts (the psalms) are not liturgical, they do allow for a (religious) meaning beyond their primary literate one. Stravinsky's particularity in his choices of orchestration is often seen as a signature of his neoclassical idiom. In this case, because he intended to compose a lot of contrapuntal development, he chose 'a choral and instrumental ensemble in which the two elements should be on equal footing, neither of them outweighing the other'.[54] The *Symphony of Psalms* is not the first time Stravinsky omitted violins and violas, due to the sound quality or whatever else. In an article in *Montjoie!* on the premiere of *Sacre*, he remarks:

> From this melody I have consequently excluded the *strings*, with their crescendos and diminuendos—much too evocative and representative of the human voice—and I have placed in the foreground the *woodwind*, drier, cleaner, less prone to facile expressiveness, and by that very token still more moving to my taste.[55]

Omission of tone-paintings

The texts from Psalms 38 and 39 include several opportunities for tone-painting but Stravinsky passes them by. This might be seen as underlining his above-quoted statement in *Dialogues* ('my eagerness to counter the many composers who have abused these magisterial verses as pegs for their own lyrico-sentimental "feelings"'). This inclination is even more apparent in the setting of Psalm 150, where there is no evidence of tone-painting of texts like 'praise Him' through the sound of the trumpet, for example, or with timpani and dance, stringed instruments and organs, high-sounding

53 Bartel, D. (1997). *Musica poetica : musical-rhetorical figures in German Baroque music*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
54 Stravinsky, I. (1936/1990). *An Autobiography 1903-1934*. London: Marion Boyars.
55 'Ce que j'ai voulu exprimer dans *Le Sacre du Printemps*', published in *Montjoie!* on 29 May 1913. The quotation is an early example of his neoclassical thinking. In later writings, he would expand upon these sentiments.

cymbals, or loud cymbals. These instruments are either not present or not prominent in the soundscape. In 'A Quintet of Dialogues',[56] he says: 'In setting the words of this final hymn I cared only for the sounds of the syllables and I have indulged to the limit my besetting pleasure of regulating prosody in my own way'.[57] From the listener's perspective, on the other hand, the omission might be taken as a message from Stravinsky—that is, the praising of the Lord itself should be the focus, not the way in which we do so (with our human-built tools and instruments). Here, perhaps, Stravinsky comes out against a literal reading of the Holy Bible, as though the word was the reality. Instead he points to the individual, embodied praising.

Stravinsky's complex attitude towards the use of language and meaning is captured in the following quotation: 'The allegro in Psalm 150 was inspired by a vision of Elijah's chariot climbing the Heavens; never before had I written anything quite so literate as the triples for horns and piano to suggest the horses and chariot'.[58] When he refers to the literate connection between the music and his vision of the chariot, it is important to remember that there is no temporal link between the texts in Psalm 150 and his vision of Elijah's chariot. The outburst of horns and piano happens at rehearsal numbers 18 and 19, immediately after the text 'Laudate DOMINUM, Laudate Eum', while the text that could support a kind of tone-painting, 'Laudate Eum in sono tubae', is sung between numbers 11 and 12.

Musical-rhetorical figures

There are several examples of the more traditional use of musical-rhetorical figures in all three movements. Stravinsky uses repetition of certain words for emphasis—for example, in the first movement, 'Ne sileas' (9–10, 'be not silent') in *forte* and 'Remitte mihi' (12–13, 'O forgive me') in *fortissimo* harness repetition and dynamics to enhance the meaning of the text. The latter even feels rather personal, as though Stravinsky identifies with this text, sung first in *fortissimo* and then *subito forte*, to capture a moment of hesitation in the repetition of the plea, as though the persona remembers not to present demands to God.

Stravinsky further expresses his attitude towards God in the second movement by not only repeating the opening phrase in all four parts in the choir but also by repeating 'et intendit mihi' ('he was attentive to me') several times (between 5 and 10). This gesture underlines his anticipation of a forthcoming and incarnated God. In the third movement, the many musical expressions of the text 'Laudate Dominum, Laudate Eum' align with Stravinsky's interest in the sounds of the syllables. The first motive of 'Laudate Dominum' recalls the same melodic figure in the opening of Stravinsky's Symphony in C (also dedicated to the glory of God) and in 'Tom seals pact' in *The Rake's Progress*.

56   Stravinsky,I. & Craft, R. (1962) *Perspectives of New Music 1*, no.1 (Autumn): 7-17.
57   This was written in 1962, and the utterance is typical for Stravinsky's ex post facto comments on his works, adjusted to his idea of absolute music in line with the aesthetics of neoclassicism.
58   Stravinsky, I., & Craft, R. (1962). *Expositions and developments*. London: Faber and Faber. 17.

Another kind of repetition is his use of rhythmic ostinato, especially in the third movement. Here, Stravinsky arranges several layers of repeating figures of different lengths in a manner that creates a continuous yet ephemeral stream, positioning the music as 'something universally admired'. At the same time, this isorhythmic gesture could also be an example of what Jonathan Cross calls 'neo-medievalism'.[59] A third association evokes Maritain's plea for a return to the medieval ideals of humility and anonymity.

The change of texture was seen as an established musical-rhetorical figure that was particularly effective for positioning the persona in the text in relation to a group or chorus. The first movement of the *Symphony of Psalms* is mostly homophonic, except for the unison outburst at 9 on 'Ne sileas' and the polyphonic setting at 10–12 on 'Quoniam advena ego sum apud te et peregrinus, sicut omnes patres' ('For I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner as all my fathers were'). The use of polyphony for the words 'I am a stranger' gives each person an individual voice in the musical texture and perhaps indicates Stravinsky's identification with the text. Interestingly, there is also a crossing of the soprano and alto on 'et peregrinus' which is more apparent to the score reader than to the listener of the performance—a detail that recalls the *musica reservata* practice in Baroque music.

The second movement begins with a five-part instrumental fugue that is succeeded by a four-part vocal fugue in which the motif from the instrumental fugue serves as the counterpoint. The text expresses God's care for each of us (in a polyphonic setting) but changes at 10, where God's actions bring the congregation together through a shared action ('and set my feet upon the rock') in a stretto in a respectful piano, where the vocal fugue's opening (a falling fourth) functions as tone-painting. After an instrumental interlude in which the trombone presents a double dotted version of the oboe theme, the choir and orchestra conclude the movement in a homophonic texture in *fortissimo* to the text 'And He hath put a new song in my mouth'. It is interesting to note that this new song derives from the instrumental fugue and is not simply an extension of the vocal fugue (sung by people), perhaps implying that such a song/way of living can only come from the Lord who created everything before people.[60]

In the first movement, Stravinsky also makes use of a special orchestration accompanying the prayer in the choir. The arpeggiated chords in oboes and bassoons are presented simultaneously in staccato and legato in unison by pairs of instruments (heterophonic doubling). These combinations could represent the intersection of the voices of each individual (staccato) with the voice of all (legato).

Music-rhetorical figures were mostly connected to melodic patterns, and some aspects of this practice can also be traced in the *Symphony of Psalms*. In the first movement, the altos begin in a recitative of sorts, on an oscillating semitone to the

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59   Cross, J. (2003). *The Cambridge companion to Stravinsky*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 12.

60   When Stravinsky also includes the last part of the verse, 'Videbunt multi, videbunt et timebunt' ('Many shall see it and fear'), it recalls his comment that 'the Psalms are poems of exaltation, but also of anger and judgment, and even of curses'.

text 'Exaudi orationem Domine' ('Hear my prayer, O Lord'). When the text changes to 'For I am a stranger with Thee', the melodic line moves in large intervals to emphasise the expressed alienation in the persona affiliated with the practice of music pathetica.

One of the most common music-rhetorical figures in religious music is the illustration of Jacob's ladder. Here, the long ascending scale with crescendo between figures 21 and 22 in the third movement is the most obvious example of this. It is not a question of tone-painting as the text is not specific at this point, but as I commented earlier, it is the act of praise, rather than the means with which we do so, that is important. The ending of the first movement also creates such an impression (depending on the balance between upward and downward parts in the orchestra). In addition, the ending in G major is full of hope—here, Stravinsky exploits many musical-rhetorical figures in such a way that we can experience his identification with the text's religious meanings. This, in turn, brings us to an elaboration of my last category, the Credo elements.

Credo elements

The search for musical gestures that reflect a personal identification with the religious meaning in the text is closely connected to the question of belief. The elements pointed to are to be placed in a religious context where the observations and arguments gain coherence in the believer's perspective. Both in the first movement (figures 10–12) and in the third movement (figures 9–12), Stravinsky makes use of scale-suggestive motifs that enhance the emotional impact of the text and music. The text does not *require* such expressive qualities, but as a listener, it is possible to hear this as an act of identification—even a personal statement of belief or confession—on the part of the composer. The contrast in the setting of the first phrase in the first movement is likewise telling. While the opening part, 'Exaudi oriationem, Domine', is sung in *mezzoforte* by altos alone (within the range of a minor second), the next part, 'et deprecationem meam', is sung in *forte* by a four-part choir (and the sopranos extend the range to a third). The juxtaposition of 'listen to me' in *mf* and 'my humility' in *f* underlines the personal engagement, opposite of the expected expression. When the altos repeat their recitative-like melody at figure 7, Stravinsky doubles them in the oboe at the double octave. The 'lacrimas' moment in the text ('Auribus percipe lacrimas meas') finds the oboe in its most extreme register (in the same way that crying represents an extreme form of human utterance). Stravinsky clearly identifies with the persona in the text and uses his musical creativity to convince the listener of the wisdom in the words. This may be an indication of a strong connection between the text and Stravinsky's music and, by extension, Stravinsky himself, devoted composer (and religious man) that he was.

Setting the vocal performance of 'Remitte mihi' in *forte* is another potential alignment between the remorseful sinner and Stravinsky the composer. At the end of the first movement, one might ordinarily expect the text to be set to a morendo/diminu-

endo but Stravinsky does (quite typically) the opposite. His propensity to challenge the listener's expectations is thoroughly integrated into his way of using musical material of the past and rephrasing it within the realm of neoclassicism. Instead of a morendo, Stravinsky uses *forte fortissimo* in the orchestra and ends on a brighter and more optimistic G major harmony.[61] Perhaps he identifies with a believer who seeks a better life in heaven?

The next movement starts in c minor (releasing the dominant tension of G major) with an instrumental motif in the oboe. This motif is identical to one of the four motifs in the second movement in his Three Pieces for String Quartet from 1913, a piece Stravinsky orchestrated in 1928, when he named it 'Eccentric' (and recalled its inspiration in the jerky movements of the clown Little Tich at a London circus). The introduction of something so eccentric to this religious text underlines the religious dogma of believing in something bigger than yourself—before you place yourself at the centre of your existence, you must accept the divine sense of order that transcends you. The second movement is a double fugue that, in a sense, evokes the degree of preparation and forethought that goes into a true believer's confession.[62] It is impossible to compose a double fugue unless you believe in the structure and content restrictions of the form. You do not need to be a religious believer to compose a double fugue but, in this case, it is tempting to interpret Stravinsky's choice of form for the text (a prayer) as an act of advocacy of believing in something bigger than yourself.

Some of the examples I have presented under musical-rhetorical figures can also be interpreted as Credo elements. For example, the use of polyphonic writing and a melody featuring big leaps atop the text 'Quoriam advena ego sum apud te et pergrinus' (figures 10–11) in the first movement might be read as though Stravinsky is identifying with all of those people (the polyphony) who feel homeless and otherwise alienated (the large melodic leaps which seem tonally directionless).

The text in the third movement is usually set out by other composers in a more or less jubilant fashion (which Stravinsky himself disliked). Stravinsky's 'Alleluia' setting, on the other hand, is quiet and humble when it appears at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the movement. If we apply the notion that instrumental music is from God and vocal music is from humans, we derive an interesting harmonic analysis from these passages (see figure 1):

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61   In Stravinsky's Pater Noster (1926) G major is used to the texts of devotion/homage. Dahl, P. (2011). Verkanalysen som fortolkningsarena. Oslo. Unipub. 103-119, 184-187
62   As Augustine says about baptism, 'Take away the Word and what is water except water? The Word is added to the element and makes the sacrament just as it is also made into a visible word itself'. Petersen, N. H. (1966). Liturgy and the Musical Composition. *Studia Theologica, 50*, 125-143.

Figure 1. Alleluia.

In the choir, there is an overarching sequence from F major via Bb dom 7 to E flat major. As such, it is a strong cadence but, in principle, the sequence of dominants could continue to A-flat, making that the new tonic. However, when Stravinsky adds the violoncello and double bass playing a simple G–C on the two last chords, the tonal centre comes into focus as c minor (subdominant F, dominant G and tonic c). Seen as a Credo element, it would appear that Stravinsky here (again) points to the need for trust in the Lord, as only He can guide people through their lives (and supply harmonic resolution in the strongest kind of cadenza and totality that this text-music relation requires). The choir (man) can make harmony, however, it is only through God's creative power embracing the whole world (including the instruments) that a unique, stable and meaningful harmony is established.

Conclusion

A traditional analysis of Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms* could use most of the elements I have discussed here to position this work securely within Stravinsky's stylistic development as a composer. I wanted to introduce another possibility for this material by looking at how Stravinsky dealt with the religious content of the text. There are two problems with this pursuit, of course. Stravinsky was the most prominent defender of the aesthetics of neoclassicism and therefore insisted that there was no relation between text and music in his works. He also proclaimed that the religious dimension of his life was personal, not 'professional' or overtly part of his art.[63]

In my search for connections between textual meaning and musical elements in the *Symphony of Psalms*, I applied three categories of relations: omitting tone-painting, musical-rhetorical figures and Credo elements. I also took the listener's position to allow myself to interpret the texts not only as ordinary words but also as a possible source of meaning construction in relation to a believer's symbolic universe.[64] In this

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63 In line with Kuhn's terminology in Kuhn, T. S. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Stravinsky could have said that the art and the religious dimensions are incommensurable.

64 Here, again, I was inspired by Luhmann, N. (2000). *Art as a social system*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. and Roman Ingarden's notion of the 'score as system of imperative symbols' Ingarden, R. (1962). *Untersuchungen zur Ontologie der Kunst: Musikwerke, Bild, Architektur, Film*. Tübringen: Niemeyer.

manner, the omission of tone-paintings (which is in line with the neoclassical aesthetics expressed by Stravinsky) gave rise to another kind of meaning construction: the relocation or displacement of the focus word in the text. Stravinsky's use of musical-rhetorical figures could be seen as a projection of his own faith via the imagined faith of an anonymous congregation (an interpretation that is often applied to Stravinsky's religious works). Nevertheless, my findings regarding Credo elements go beyond ordinary musical-rhetorical figures to encompass a potential personal identification with the text's speaker in the way in which Stravinsky makes use of musical expressions of a markedly individual character (orchestration, articulation and dynamics). In developing my arguments, I found it impossible to treat these categories as though they were mutually exclusive, and I had to add Stravinsky's fashioning of his identity and belief in developing the arguments.

As the most prominent neoclassical composer of the 1920s, Stravinsky faced an uphill climb to success. Many continued to wonder why he had dismissed his Russian heritage in his music and, since that time, several explanations have been put forth, including Maureen Carr's:

> Adorno's description of Stravinsky's 'connected style' without the 'inner bonds' or without 'rootedness' in contrast with the style of the seventeenth or eighteenth century that functioned as an 'organic whole' helps to establish a framework for considering the dichotomy between the integrity of Stravinsky's models and the way in which he appropriated them. In his thinking, Adorno perceives an antagonism between Stravinsky's style and his models, whereas Edward Cone celebrates Stravinsky's transformative approach to his models. He (Stravinsky) confronts the evoked historical manner at every point with his own version of contemporary language; the result is a complete reinterpretation and transformation of the earlier style.[65]

For me, Stravinsky's approach seems to derive from the transformation of his earlier style. In his 'Russian period', Stravinsky reinvented what he had inherited from his teacher (Rimsky-Korsakov) and from those Russian composers who had written extensively for the orchestra and the opera. His operas (in the Russian period) met with limited success, but he made great headway in everything from orchestral music to ballet. Moreover, Stravinsky, like his father, had a huge library and enthusiastically engaged in the contemporary aesthetic discourse. He cultivated an interest in modern communication and information processes, in writing statements for newspapers, in recording his own music (that is, making authoritative interpretations, or so he thought at first),[66] and in publishing an autobiography (which he did in 1936). The various Craft/Stravinsky books after World War II also resonate with Stravinsky's general goal of transforming his earlier style, comments and ideas. In seeking opportuni-

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65   Carr, M. A. (2014). *After the Rite. Stravinsky's Path to Neo-classicism 1914-25*: Oxford University Press. 4-5.
66   Cook, N. (2003). Stravinsky conducts Stravinsky. In J. Cross (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky* (pp. 176-191). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Reprinted from: 2005).

ties to revisit what had come before, Stravinsky was more concerned with new contexts than with original sources. Thus, one could frame his statements about the lack of a connection between text and music in his works in terms of his roles as a transformer, conservative innovator[67] and compositional chameleon.

Stravinsky's conclusions reveal a perspective on text and music as two different worlds or paradigms. Compared to language, meaning construction in music will always be arbitrary (or coincidental, in Stravinsky's mind). Thus, his conclusion to the debate in rue Daru in the 1920s is that aesthetic theory cannot be used as an arbiter of taste in spiritual values. Though convergence between text and music might arise in the individual listener, Stravinsky insists that this does not imply an existing or intentional relationship between text and music in his religious works.

Abstract

Stravinsky was a leading proponent of neoclassicism who repeatedly underlined in his statements and writings that there was no alignment between text and music in what he composed. Analysis of the *Symphony of Psalms* (as well as other works) reveals many possibilities for the listener to experience meaning-construction based on text-music relations in this work. Stravinsky re-joined the Russian Orthodox Church in 1926 and made his conversion a central role of his identity. In this article, I present some reflections regarding his religiosity and revisit the idea of absolute music as a premise for neoclassicism. Taking the listener's perspective in my analysis of text-music relations, I will focus on the epistemological possibilities for creating meaning based both on the text and the relation to expressive qualities in music. In order to understand Stravinsky's statements, I find it necessary to accept his view of music and religious texts as two incommensurable paradigms.

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67   Butler, C. (2003). Strvinsky as modernist. In J. Cross (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Stravinsky* (pp. 19-36). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 19.

MARTIN KNUST

Musical and Theatrical Declamation in Richard Wagner's Works and a Toolbox for Vocal Music Analysis

1. Introduction

Every culture in the world has or did have some form of elevated speaking which sometimes can be described as singing, sometimes as recitation.[1] The transitions between everyday speech and elevated ways of transmitting a text differ from place to place[2] and from time to time. The latter makes them an object for the music historian because not only the techniques of singing but also those of speaking have changed over time. Historical recordings show these differences that can be enormous in comparison to modern standards. The older the sound documents are, the more strange they appear to the ear of a twenty-first-century listener. And there is one more aspect which is crucial for all evaluations and analyses of vocal music: speaking and singing correlate; that is, the music – no matter whether art, popular or folk music – is to some extent always shaped by the rules of speech.

Given this fundamental fact and the great number of research publications about vocal music that has been produced during the last centuries, it is astounding to find that there is no music analysis that addresses this fact in a systematic ways; there is no type of analysis that allows the researcher to establish the various connections between spoken and sung language comprehensively, let alone to investigate the exact musical parameters relevant for how speech influences music. What I am aiming at, is the very sound of spoken language and the way it is transferred into, transposed to, kept in and contradicted by – in the Hegelian sense, sublated – the setting to music. In this essay, I would like to present an analytical model that allows the researcher to do exactly this; to establish precisely how the influence of speech on music is made

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1   "[…], it seems to be a fact that all societies, including those that use a term like 'music' or seem to have a unified conception of it, as well as those that do not, have a type or kind of stylized vocal expression that is distinguished from ordinary speech. Most commonly it is something readily called or associated with singing, but 'chanting', elevated speech, stylized utterances consisting of vocables, screaming, howling, weeping, or keening may all be included." (Bruno Nettl, article "Music" in New Grove Online. Accessed January 31, 2016).
2   For instance, Koran recitation may sound in the ears of a Westerner rather like singing.

manifest. This model has been developed for analysing a certain sort of music from a certain historical epoch. Its methods derive from those contemporary descriptions and textbooks about the rules of recitation and declamation that can be verified when analysing music written down in the Western notational system. Besides such musicological research, research from the area of (historical) speech science will also be considered for developing analytical tools for investigating this specific style. Nonetheless, some of these methods may be relevant for other musical styles and forms as well. For that reason, the generality or language specificity respectively of each method will be indicated briefly where it is opportune.

2. The task: Analysing nineteenth-century declamation

The chosen object is the music of Richard Wagner (1813–1883) whose soloist vocal parts are said to be very close to spoken language. In early musicology, the term *Sprechgesang* was established to express the proximity of his vocal lines to the sound of speech.[3] What can not be explained extensively in this context but only mentioned, is that is was not everyday speech but the artistically elevated speech of early nineteenth-century actors that influenced him. More exactly, it was the declamatory style that he experienced during his childhood and youth in 1820s and 1830s Dresden and Leipzig and that also became his own.[4] This circumstance has disadvantages and advantages for the researcher. First, there is no recording of an early nineteenth-century actor preserved,[5] and one has to accept the fact that this practice of reciting and declamation has gone forever and can only be partially reconstructed. This is a clear disadvantage. Second, the advantage in this particular historical context is, that many books and articles were written during this time which tried to give a systematic or analytical overview about the practice of declamation and recitation that was in use. One famous example is Gilbert Austin's *Chironomia or a treatise on rhetorical delivery* that was published 1806. In it, he tried to develop a notational and graphical system for describing declamatory accents and gestures. It was translated into German some years later[6] and shows many similarities with German declamation books from this period.[7] Because

3   Cf. among many others Guido Adler, *Richard Wagner. Vorlesungen gehalten an der Universität zu Wien* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904), 222–223 and August Halm, *Von Grenzen und Ländern der Musik. Gesammelte Aufsätze* 2nd edn. (Munich: G. Müller, 1916), 37–38.

4   Besides my dissertation (Martin Knust, *Sprachvertonung und Gestik in den Werken Richard Wagners. Einflüsse zeitgenössischer Rezitations- und Deklamationspraxis* [Berlin: Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur, 2007], 524 pages printed + 308 pages on CD-ROM with separate paginations), I have depicted this theatrical background in my book *Richard Wagner. Ein Leben für die Bühne* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013), 13–29.

5   The earliest recordings of speech we have are from actors who were active in the second half of the nineteenth century, for instance this recording of Sir Henry Irving (1838–1905). Accessed August 24, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Z4gXiNKR4s&feature=youtu.be.

6   *Gilbert Austin: Die Kunst der rednerischen und theatralischen Declamation nach ältern und neuern Grundsätzen über die Stimme, den Gesichtsausdruck und die Gesticulation*, trans. Chr. Friedr. Michaelis, Leipzig 1818, Reprint (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1969).

7   For instance, Johann Jakob Engel, *Ideen zu einer Mimik* (Berlin: Mylius, 1804).

declamation was part of the high school education in Germany at that time, quite a number of textbooks about recitation and declamation were published in the early nineteenth century.[8] This is a clear advantage to the researcher because it enables the comparison of theories and textbooks about the spoken word with the composed vocal music of the time in order to prove or falsify that these theories and rules were followed in reality.

The following analysis derives from the rules and customs that are reported in contemporary textbooks, theoretical texts and other descriptions about spoken language. I have extracted eighteen different aspects from them that constitute a comprehensive group of methods for musical analysis. They will be presented extensively in section 4.

3. The object: Wagner's solo parts and their sources

Richard Wagner finished thirteen operas. The last ten of them constitute the main body of his oeuvre. Here is a list of all works and fragments investigated in this essay including the time frame of their genesis, that is, the time from the first sketch of the action to the finished score:

1. *Die Hochzeit* (fragment) WWV 31 (1832/33)
2. *Die Feen* WWV 32 (1833/34)
3. *Das Liebesverbot oder Die Novize von Palermo* WWV 38 (1834–36)
4. *Rienzi, der Letzte der Tribunen* WWV 49 (1838–40)
5. *Der fliegende Holländer* WWV 63 (1840/41)
6. *Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg* WWV 70, state 1 and 2 (1843–45)
7. *Lohengrin* WWV 75 (1845–48)
8. *Siegfried's Tod* (fragment) (1848–50)
9. *Das Rheingold* WWV 86 A (1852–54)
10. *Die Walküre* WWV 86 B (1852–56)
11. *Siegfried* WWV 86 C (1850–1869)
12. *Tristan und Isolde* WWV 90 (1857–59)
13. *Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf Wartburg* WWV 70, state 3 and 4 (1860/61; 1867; 1869; 1875)
14. *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* WWV 96 (1845–67)
15. *Götterdämmerung* WWV 86 D (1848–74)
16. *Parsifal* WWV 111 (1857; 1877–1882)

He and his contemporaries report that he employed the recitation of the libretti – which he without exception always wrote himself – in his creative process. This means, he recited his libretti during the time when he was writing and when he was about to compose them. Moreover, he advised his singers to recite his texts before starting to sing them; a practice that he used himself when rehearsing individually

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8   Heinrich August Kerndörffer published several books about declamation, among others his two-volume *Handbuch der Declamation. Ein Leitfaden für Schulen und für den Selbstunterricht zur Bildung eines guten rednerischen Vortrags* (Leipzig: Fleischer, 1813).

with the singers of his works as the voice instructor Julius Hey (1832–1909) reports.[9] This raises the question: whether, and to what extent, he shaped his solo vocal lines according to the model of spoken language. To answer this question exhaustively, I have evaluated all vocal soloist parts in the printed scores of all Wagner operas. Additionally, I have also evaluated all sketches and music fragments of his dramatic pieces since the recitation and declamation seems to have played an important role in the genesis of his works. What emerged as a rule in the analysis of his composing strategy is that the vocal lines were fixed in their definite form in the so-called first drafts – early in the composition process – while the instrumental part of the scores often was not fixed until the second drafts or even later in the composition process. In other words, the first drafts show the vocal lines as they appear in the printed score and thus the musical declamation was clearly his main concern during the first steps of composition. This corroborates the thesis that the recitation had a strong impact on his music because – as I have shown elsewhere[10] –those passages that were especially close to the sound of spoken language were easy for him to sketch in one go despite their considerable diastematic and rhythmic irregularities.

But which musical parameters were affected by this influence and how did it happen exactly? Which composition techniques did Wagner employ to achieve a musical declamation that resembled theatrical declamation so much that listeners grasped this similarity intuitively and immediately?[11] Below I will present these techniques by first describing the analytical methods deriving from the contemporary rules for declamation and then summarizing my findings in the Wagnerian oeuvre.

4. The analytical toolbox and the results

In this section, eighteen different methods will be presented. Some of them consist of several sub-methods and point b) has most sub-methods of all. There is no hierarchy or other ranking implied by the order the methods are presented in. In some cases, certain methods may overlap – though only partially and occasionally – even though it has been of utmost importance to avoid such overlapping and redundancies when designing this analytical checklist. Each subsection has two parts: in the first part, the objective and validity of the method are presented plus some hypothetical remarks on what the outcome of the analysis might be. In the second part, the actual results of the analysis are presented. In the next section, no. 5, a summary overview about the results will be given.

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9   Hans Hey, ed., *Richard Wagner als Vortragsmeister 1864–1876. Erinnerungen von Julius Hey* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 119 and 130. Hey developed a method for teaching singing from Wagner's way of rehearsing his vocal solo parts: the three-volume *Deutscher Gesangs-Unterricht. Lehrbuch des Sprachlichen und Gesanglichen Vortrags* (Schott: Mainz, 1885).
10   Martin Knust, "Music, Drama, and Sprechgesang. About Richard Wagner's Creative Process," *19th-century Music* 38 (2015) no. 3, 219–242.
11   Knust 2007, 50–64, 305–319.

a) Melismatic and syllabic declamation

Everybody who wrote about musical declamation – including Wagner[12] – postulated a dissimilarity between melismatic musical declamation, which demands emphatic singing, and the rather volatile sound of spoken language.[13] Melismas, as they manifest in their most extreme form in the coloratura, make it difficult or even impossible for the listener to understand the text. Spoken language never consists of long melismas. In spoken German, a syllable can only be pronounced with maximum two distinct tones in moments of great emotional affection. For instance, a penetrating questioning word can be spoken with a glissando upwards. This gives the word a very strong accent and emphasis. In other words, if a composer wants to write vocal lines close to the model of spoken German language, then syllabic composition should be preferred over the use of melismas.

And this is exactly what Wagner did throughout his career as a dramatic composer. In his works composed after *Rienzi*, there are only very occasional long melismas and even before *Rienzi* he used them rarely; in *Die Feen*, melismas had marked intensification of the dramatic tension and most coloraturas appeared in his second opera, *Das Liebesverbot*. Coloraturas were used in his first three finished operas and the fragment of *Die Hochzeit*. He stopped using them after *Tannhäuser* with the exception of *Die Meistersinger*. Ornaments like the trill or the turn occur in his early operas but their use is gradually reduced. In *Lohengrin*, the musical declamation is basically syllabic and in *Rheingold* even almost exclusively syllabic. After *Lohengrin*, embellishments typical for opera singing occur only sporadically or even not at all (as in *Parsifal*). In *Tristan* and *Meistersinger*, Wagner resuscitates melismatic singing within certain limitations and returns to a strict syllabic declamation in the last four *Ring* acts. Two-tone melismas, which imitate certain means of spoken language as described above, can be found in all his works. Generally, however, Wagner's musical declamation is mostly syllabic.

b) Diastematic, rhythmic and accentual similarities to spoken language

Spoken language is a complex acoustical phenomenon. There are many rules about the correct pronunciation of German language in rhythmic and diastematic respects. Some of these rules, which are relevant for the musical shaping of a sung text, are listed below. Accents are likewise important and serve different functions as will be shown. This part of the analysis may be the most language-specific because the rules for accentuation and the distinction between short and long syllables are generally different in Indo-European languages from, for instance, tonal or agglutinative languages.

Spoken German normally moves diastematically in rather small intervals, which in the Western system of tonality are imitated best by choosing unisons, seconds or thirds. To make them appear less distinct, chromaticism can be applied. This will be

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12 Richard Wagner, "Bericht über eine neue Pariser Oper," in Richard Wagner, *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* (*GSD*) 1, 4th edn. (Leipzig: C.F.W. Siegel's Musikalienhandlung [K. Linnemann], 1907), 255.

13 In Ancient Greece, Aristophanes made fun of Euripides' use of coloraturas and even such compositional authorities like Mozart were criticized for employing them, for instance, by Hector Berlioz (quoted in: Bernhard Zimmermann, *Die griechische Komödie* [Heidelberg: Verlag Antike e.K., 2006], 49–50).

investigated in another step of the analysis (see j). Especially in everyday speech, the intervals will remain narrow. The theatrical delivery, however, was much more expressive in the German-speaking areas during the nineteenth century than it is today,[14] and even larger intervals can thus be expected in passages of increased dramatic tension. In the early nineteenth century, German theorists wrote that the declamation of poetry should approach the sound of recitative singing, which for its part was understood as located in the middle between lyrical declamation and emphatic singing.[15] Generally, any kind of a central tone is lacking in spoken German, as it would make the speaking sound mechanical. The speech melody moves freely up and down and will never arrive on the same tone where it started. It is prosaic and does thus not comprise any fixed rhythmic or melodic patterns. Motivic or thematic repetitions in the vocal melodies are, as Adorno has already postulated,[16] not per se speech-like. Like melismas, long tones on one constant frequency are also non-existent in spoken German. Instead, a relatively – that is, relative to the chosen tempo – short rhythmic basic unit like a quaver or an even shorter unit gives the vocal melody one important characteristic of the speech melody.

The rules of vocal delivery affect the intervals of the voice melody on different linguistic levels. On the phonetic level, a certain group of words ends on a short, non-accentuated final syllable with the reduced vowel "-e-",[17] words like "gehen", "erste", "Schauer". In those words the voice melody has to sink on the final syllables. They were never spoken sonorously in nineteenth-century German theatre either.[18] On the syntactic level, in spoken German one class of questions is always pronounced in the same manner: if a 'real' – as opposed to a rhetorical – question is posed, the speech melody rises at the end of the sentence. Nineteenth-century textbooks about declamation demand another voice melody for the delivery of rhetorical questions. In this case, the sentence had to sound like a declarative sentence, not like a 'real' question.[19]

Among the accents, theoreticians in the nineteenth century distinguished two fundamentally different kinds that are relevant to musical declamation. In each single word, the root syllable has an accent and in each sentence one word has an accent that determines the expression and content of the sentence on a logical level. The first was

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14   Audio documents that prove the employment of large intervals are, among many others, Josef Kainz's and Alexander Moissi's declamation recordings of Hamlet's monologue from the beginning of the 20th century.

15   Hermann Heimart Cludius, *Abriß der Vortragskunst* (Hildesheim, 1810), 93 quoted in Irmgard Weithase, *Anschauungen über das Wesen der Sprechkunst von 1775–1825* (diss.) (Berlin: Ebering, 1930), 69; Johann Karl Wötzel, *Grundriß eines allgemeinen und faßlichen Lehrgebäudes oder Systems der Declamation nach Schocher's Ideen für Dichter, Vorleser, Declamatoren, Redner, Lehrer und Kunstschauspieler aller Art, für deren Zuhörer und Zuschauer zur richtigen Würdigung der Ersteren* (Vienna: Stöckholzer von Hirschfeld, 1814), 637–638.

16   Theodor W. Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner* (Munich/Zurich: Droemer Knaur, 1964), 109.

17   It is transcribed ″ə″ according to the International Phonetic Alphabet.

18   Irmgard Weithase, *Goethe als Sprecher und Sprecherzieher* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1949), 77.

19   Wilhelm Kienzl presumed that Wagner had distinguished between rhetorical and real questions in his works according to the model of spoken language (Wilhelm Kienzl, *Die musikalische Declamation dargestellt an der Hand der Entwickelungsgeschichte des deutschen Gesanges* [diss.] [Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes, 1880], 122).

often called "word accent", the second "logical accent".[20] In Western music, the measure is a repetitive combined rhythmic and accentual pattern in which the words to be sung have to correspond to its accentuation order. Additionally, the composer can use accent marks when the measure's accent pattern is not sufficient for imitating the accent structure of a word or a sentence. Another way to accentuate a syllable is a rhythmic irregularity like syncopation or rhythmic extension of a certain syllable or the use of a significantly higher pitch.

All these rules, when followed in composition, constitute what is described by the term *Sprechgesang*. Finally, writers on Wagner's music maintained that he succeeded in characterizing his figures via the musical declamation.[21]

Concerning the *Sprechgesang*, Wagner's oeuvre can be divided into four periods. During the first period, which embraces his first three finished operas, the musical declamation followed respectively the models of the German Romantic opera (*Die Feen*), the Italian and French comic opera (*Das Liebesverbot*) and the French Grand opera (*Rienzi*). In them, the diastematic structures show no *Sprechgesang* yet. For instance, the vocal lines of *Die Feen* consists of strictly diatonic material. In the second period, which embraces *Der fliegende Holländer*, *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin* and *Das Rheingold*, the *Sprechgesang* was invented and employed more and more extensively within each work. In *Holländer* and *Tannhäuser*, Wagner used the *Sprechgesang* in two dramaturgically important monologues – the first monologue of the Dutchman and the Rome narration of Tannhäuser – while the other parts of the opera remained free from it. In *Lohengrin*, the *Sprechgesang* conquers the whole opera and this took some effort from Wagner. The musical declamation in the first draft is different from the definitive version in the score and the sketch shows many amendments, changes and revisions of the vocal lines. All these changes made the vocal lines more speech-like.[22] One can state that Wagner in *Lohengrin* successfully trained himself in writing music in this way. After *Lohengrin*, the composition of *Sprechgesang* passages was obviously easy for him. The sketches no longer give any hint about difficulties with this way of musical declamation. On the contrary, Wagner was now able to outline long passages of *Sprechgesang* in one brushstroke as, for instance, the sketches of *Das Rheingold* prove.[23] In *Das Rheingold*, the *Sprechgesang* becomes completely dominant and this is the work that contains the largest quantity of it. After *Das Rheingold*, in period three, Wagner reduced the amount of *Sprechgesang* gradually through *Die Walküre* and the first two acts of *Siegfried*. In *Tristan und Isolde*, he used it only occasionally, and abandoned it in *Die Meistersinger*, but, even here, he maintained and even addressed the issue of correct accentuation in the dialogue of Sachs and Beckmesser in the second

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20   Heinrich Theodor Rötscher, *Die Kunst der dramatischen Darstellung* (Berlin: Wilhelm Thome, 1841), 56 and 170; already Sulzer had distinguished between "grammatical" and "oratorical" accent in the same way (Johann Georg Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* 1 (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1771–1774), 9–10, 76–77).

21   For instance, Adler, 222.

22   Knust 2007, CD-ROM, 67–91.

23   Knust 2015, 229–232.

act. During the third period, this compositional method collided with another one, namely, the increasing use of themes and motifs in the vocal lines. This process started with the composition of the first acts of *Siegfried* and resulted in a method conflict that becomes evident in *Die Meistersinger* and also in the third act of *Siegfried* and the *Götterdämmerung* score. In these three works, motifs and themes are abundant in both the vocal lines and the instrumental parts and leave almost no space for another way of composing even though Wagner tried to restore the *Sprechgesang* in the last four acts of the *Ring*. Here, he used other parameters – prosody and voice register – to make the musical declamation appear more speech-like than in *Meistersinger*. These last four *Ring* acts and Wagner's last work *Parsifal* mark the fourth and final period in his oeuvre and can be seen as a rehabilitation phase of the *Sprechgesang*, where he tried to achieve a synthesis of thematically and declamatory generated structures in the vocal parts.

So far, this overview describes changes in Wagner's compositional strategy. But there are also constants, namely the meticulously coordinated word and measure accentuation, the consequent avoiding of melodic or rhythmic accents on syllables with the reduced vowel -e- and the distinction between the vocal declamation of real and rhetorical questions in accordance to contemporary declamation practice as described above, a rule which he observed in all his works from the very beginning of his career. Wagner reduced 'operatic' long and high tones for the soloists immensely after having used such tones frequently in his first opera, *Die Feen*. With the exception of diegetically sung passages – passages in which singing is part of the narrative (see q) –, in his musical declamation no central tone becomes manifest. Rather, the declamation is strictly prosaic and diachronic in all instances.

Works that contain *Sprechgesang* show different levels of it; that is, a musical declamation shifting between speech and emphatic – or 'operatic' – singing is to be found. The dramatic tension affects the range of the intervals and the duration of the notes to be sung; the more excited, upset or forceful a character gets, the wider the intervals become and the greater the variety of tone durations. Alternatively, Wagner employs long tones and high pitches to characterize a figure as vigorous, heroic or powerful. This is another constant in his composition: the more *Sprechgesang* a vocal part contains, the more likely this character is meant to be an intriguer. It is figures like Alberich, Mime, Loge, Telramund, Ortrud, Hagen and Klingsor who sing hardly any emphatic passages but sing almost exclusively *Sprechgesang*. This applies also to Kundry with the exception of her long dialogue with Parsifal in the second act. She is perhaps not to be defined appropriately as an intriguer but at least she is not an entirely positive character. In other words, Wagner has actually used his *Sprechgesang* and the vocal declamation for the creation of individual characters.

c) Prosody

The term 'prosody' (in German: "Prosodie" or "Prosodik") was, in the nineteenth century aiming at the relation between short and long syllables in spoken language,[24] the rhythmic proportions of the words so to speak. Correct prosody, together with correct

24   Kienzl, 35, 159–161.

accentuation, is important for making the words acoustically understandable in spoken German.[25] It is difficult to determine a certain, fixed rhythmic ratio between short and long syllables and any theoretician or practitioner who tried to give such a ratio was criticized for creating an unnatural way of speaking. Among them was Goethe who maintained that long syllables should be spoken schematically longer than short syllables. According to his contemporaries, this rule led to monotony in recitation and declamation.[26] The reason why the prosody was of special interest for him and other poets is that German verse composition since the end of the eighteenth century had tried to imitate the rhythmic models of Roman and particularly Ancient Greek verse metres; Ancient Greek, however, was a quantifying language while German, as an accenting language, is not. To maintain a certain proximity to the sound of spoken language in musical declamation thus means to avoid a schematic division of rhythmic values as this would create the above-mentioned mechanical effect. Instead, changes in the tempo of speaking may occur which means that variations of the basic rhythmic units have to be taken into consideration when analysing musical declamation. That means an analysis of the prosody is more likely to be an analysis of the rhythmic proportion between neighbouring tones than a list of rhythmic quantities applied to a certain piece of music. To keep this part of the analysis manageable, only one class of short syllables in spoken German will be investigated. It is the prefixes and suffixes with the reduced vowel -e- (see b) above for this vowel's characteristics). Such syllables are, among others, in the prefixes of German participles like "gesagt" and "getan" or part of the final syllables of infinitives like "geben" and "nehmen". They are never accentuated and will henceforth be referred to as '-e-syllables'.

In his early operas Wagner, had ignored the prosody of spoken German or had at least shown indifference towards it. For instance, some passages in *Die Feen* and *Das Liebesverbot* consist of long sequences of rhythmically identical notes or chains of schematically dotted ones. The rhythm of the vocal lines is quite inflexible in his first three operas. Like in many other respects, the monologue of the Dutchman opens a new chapter in his way of composing verses. Here, for the first time, relatively long notes bring out all accents – both logical and word accents – and long syllables as well. The remaining part of the opera is set to music in a manner that is prosodically indifferent, as in his earlier operas. After *Holländer*, while he sometimes wrote more prosodically indifferent passages, it was only extremely rarely that he broke the rules of spoken language prosody. He observed this principle of musical declamation most often in all dialogues of *Tannhäuser* and meticulously in *Lohengrin*, the sketches to *Siegfried's Tod*, *Rheingold*, *Walküre*, *Siegfried* act 1 and 2 as well as in *Tristan*. Again, *Meistersinger* is an exception because, here, other compositional principles also became important while Wagner clearly reinstalled the rules of prosody in the last four acts of the *Ring* – with the exception of some emphatically sung passages – and particularly in *Parsifal*. After *Tannhäuser*, Wagner

25 In other languages like Finnish, Estonian or Hungarian, the duration of the syllables is even semantically important.
26 Weithase 1949, 120–122.

changes the basic unit for a long syllable often from one measure to the next and he was very inventive in finding new ways of accentuating or not accentuating syllables by, for instance, employing accent marks or syncopations. His method for creating correct prosody according to the model of spoken German became increasingly advanced as his compositional repertoire of possibilities for imitating the rhythmic proportions of spoken language became larger. To verify this, the investigation of the musical declamation of the -e-syllables has proven to be a good indicator; for instance, in the analysis of *Lohengrin*, where Wagner did not put a relatively long note on a single one of these syllables and consequently avoided setting them on the downbeat. In *Rheingold*, the musical declamation becomes rhythmically more flexible by frequently changing the meter (see o) below) and often inserting triplets into the vocal lines. By doing so, Wagner achieves a quasi-naturalistic flow in the speech rhythm. An examination of the verses that he set to music twice within a twenty-year interval in *Siegfried's Tod* and *Götterdämmerung* shows the same proportions between long and short syllables and the greater rhythmic flexibility of the latter work. It does not matter whether one analyses a monologue or a dialogue, a quick or an extremely stretched passage like Brangäne's Watch Song: Wagner did not employ incorrect proportions after *Der fliegende Holländer* and remained faithful to this way of rhythmically shaping the musical declamation until his last work (with the exception of *Meistersinger* where some precarious rhythmic proportions occur). The rhythmic organisation of his musical declamation according to the prosody of spoken German is *the* main principle of his vocal composing.

d) The use of rests

Theoreticians in the nineteenth century conceded two functions of pauses in declamation: those creating interrupted speech in order to present the character as excited, breathless, suffering or the like; and those that were to correlate with the punctuation of the written text. Goethe gave an overview about the latter class of pauses, requiring from his actors that a comma should be provided with a shorter pause than a colon or semicolon and these with a shorter pause than a full stop when reciting or declaiming.[27] Wagner coined the rule in *Über das Opern-Dichten und Komponieren* (1879) that a parenthesis should be always marked with a rest at the beginning and the end and that the pitch of the words in the parenthesis should be lower than in the remaining part of the sentence.[28]

When analysing Wagner's musical declamation, these two classes of rests can be easily distinguished. He used rests according to the Baroque musical rhetoric tradition of the suspiratio; for instance, in Tristan's part in act 3 of *Tristan* the rests indicate his physical weakness. The second class of rests, those related to punctuation, can be divided into two different types in his works. First, Wagner applies rests at the end of each verse and thus also at the end of each sentence. Second, he also set punctuations like dashes or exclamation marks to music that give hints for the declamatory realisation of a verse.

27   Weithase 1949, 121.
28   *GSD* 10, 58

And there is one more class of rests that might be called technical rests as their main task is to support the singer's vocal delivery. Wagner employs such rests in order to facilitate the articulation of the text. They give the singer a chance to breath or to pronounce a consonant or several consonants sharply. Additionally, such technical rests can even help to make the prosodic structure of a phrase clearer when bolstering the differences between long and short syllables. From the beginning of his career, Wagner observed the first three types, *viz.* declamation-, punctuation- and articulation-related rests. The last type mentioned – rests that make the prosody more clear – can be found in his scores after *Tannhäuser*. The punctuation-related type includes rests that appear at parentheses – he also provided the parentheses with a lower pitch occasionally after *Das Liebesverbot* and consequently after *Tannhäuser* – and appositions. Such rests can even – like in the case of Loge's part in the second *Rheingold* scene – evoke or give space for gestures.[29] Finally, rests can even serve several of these functions at once; for instance, when helping the singer to articulate clearly while also being declamatory rests and related to punctuation marks. The differentiated and sophisticated use of rests in the vocal lines became an important device in Wagner's last work for creating speech-like melodies.

e) Permanent tempo modifications

Spoken German language never keeps a constant tempo over a longer period of time. In section c), I have already mentioned that Wagner changed the basic units of his musical declamation continuously, in other words, he did "auskomponieren" tempo modifications and agogics. In this section, it is only the verbal tempo descriptions in his scores that will be examined; they are normally in German and they are numerous.

Wagner was, throughout his career, extremely fussy with the choice of the appropriate tempo. It was the central issue for him when judging the delivery of conductors and pianists. He wrote an essay as a young man in which he proclaimed the tempo to be the life-giving pulse of a musical piece[30] and was always very critical of conductors of his works in this respect. He even went so far as to declare that no conductor in the world was able to find the right tempi for his music.[31] From his first opera, he used very detailed and exact verbal tempo directions in his scores. There are fewer tempo modifications in his comical operas *Das Liebesverbot* and *Meistersinger* and, after an increasing number of modifications in his operas composed after *Tannhäuser*, he reduced somewhat the number of verbal directions in the scores. It is apparent that those verbal directions served the ends of making the musical declamation appear more close to the model of spoken language; Wagner disliked the static tempo of the Weimar actors and preferred a flexible tempo that was supposed to follow the increasing and decreasing emotional tensions of the text.[32] The fact that he reduced

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29   Knust 2007, CD-ROM, 112–113.
30   Richard Wagner, "Pasticcio" (1834) in *GSD* 12, 8–10.
31   Cosima Wagner reports that the 65-year old Wagner became desperate about it: "Nicht einen Mensch hinterlasse ich, der mein Tempo kennt!" (Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, eds., *Cosima Wagner: Die Tagebücher. Band II: 1878–1883* [Munich: Piper, 1977], 236).
32   Knust 2007, 90–91.

such verbal descriptions after *Rheingold* does, however, not mean that his vocal lines became more static in tempo. As already mentioned (see c) above), Wagner acquired more and more competence in *composing* tempo modifications in his vocal lines after *Tannhäuser* and this made verbal instructions for the delivery superfluous in some instances. His steadily enhanced virtuosity in composing tempo modifications can be traced in the sketches and, after *Lohengrin*, it took him no effort to outline even complex changes in the declamation tempo.

f) The characterization of physical constitutions

Characterization of different figures was a key feature of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century declamation in Germany; this explains the popularity of the declamation of ballads in public and in school which contained direct speech of various characters like Goethe's *Erlkönig* or Bürger's *Lenore*. It was also employed when reciting dramas in what became a performing art form on its own at that time[33] as well as Wagner's favourite hobby.[34] In the last two *Ring* dramas he used the tempo for characterizing his figures in a way that distinguishes the music of these dramas from the remaining part of his oeuvre. In these and his other dramas he employed, in addition to rests, dynamics and so on, voice-typical parameters to give characterizations in portraying a figure's physical constitution via voice range and voice register. These physical constitutions were designed musically according to the model of actor's speeches on stage. During the rehearsals for the *Parsifal* world première in 1882, Wagner explained to his singers that the part of Amfortas illustrates the poor health of this figure musically because it lacks loud, high and long notes.[35] Given this statement, another remark of Wagner in *Oper und Drama* appears to outline rules for the musical declamation: the composer should be aware that he depicts physical movements and constitutions when writing his vocal parts. According to Wagner, certain tone combinations generate automatically certain gestures on the part of the musician.[36] This argument can be proven when studying the highest tones in a vocal part as the nexus between the production of a high tone and the body language of a singer is evident; every singer will take an upright and tensed body posture when singing a very high tone. Otherwise, the singer risks producing an ugly tone or, in the worst case, damage to his or her voice.

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33   Among these professional drama reciters was Wagner's Riga boss Karl von Holtei; cf. Martin Knust, "Richard Wagner und Karl von Holtei. Eine Rekonstruktion ihrer gemeinsamen Rigaer Zeit von 1837 bis 1839" in Kristel Pappel, Toomas Siitan and Anu Sõõru, eds., *Musikleben des 19. Jahrhunderts im nördlichen Europa. Strukturen und Prozesse / 19th-Century Musical Life in Northern Europe. Structures and Processes* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2010), 111–134.

34   Knust 2007, 229–232, 235–242.

35   Heinrich Porges reports one remark of Wagner concerning measure 970 in the third act: "A. hat keine große Kraft mehr, daher die kurzen Noten in der Höhe." (transcribed in Rüdiger Pohl, ed.,'*Das Orchester muß wie die unsichtbare Seele sein'. Richard Wagners Bemerkungen zum* Parsifal, *aufgezeichnet während der Proben und Aufführungen 1882 von H. Porges* [Berlin: Deutsche Richard-Wagner-Gesellschaft, 2002], 71).

36   Richard Wagner, "Oper und Drama," in *GSD* 4, 218 or in the critical edition Klaus Kropfinger, ed., *Richard Wagner: Oper und Drama* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2000), 380.

Wagner thus depicts physical weakness and fatigue via his musical declamation. He does so already in his first opera, not in his second and third, and then again from his fourth opera and further forward. Especially realistic are his depictions of wounded figures like the dying Tristan and Siegfried or the suffering of Amfortas. Rests often interrupt their vocal lines; the voice register remains low and the voice range narrow. None of these figures will sing long, coherent phrases or phrases that rise into the highest register. Again, *Die Meistersinger* prove to be an exception.

g) Dynamic shape

On the German-speaking theatre stage of the early nineteenth century, actors might have employed dynamics in the way actors did around the turn of the century. That means, they made use of extremely strong dynamic contrasts when imitating whisper, mutter, shout or scream as early recordings prove. In nineteenth-century music, composers marked dynamic nuances in their scores and did so with more and more exactness. Parallels to the dynamics of spoken language, if extant, can thus be easily established.

It was perhaps the biggest surprise of my examination when I found that Wagner hardly uses any dynamic signs in the vocal parts[37] while he used them extensively in the instrumental parts from the beginning of his career. There are few exceptions, for instance Elsa's "Einsam in trüben Tagen" that is designed to be very onomatopoetic concerning the dynamic hints given in the text; this so called Dream Narration is no *Sprechgesang*, however, and it marks the peak of Wagner's detailed instructions for the vocal dynamics. How can the absence of dynamic signs in Wagner's vocal parts be interpreted? One can probably explain it as a pragmatic way of handling a particular issue: the singer simply has to follow the dynamic level as it is established by the orchestra which means that he or she gets Wagner's dynamic directions indirectly. Alternatively, one can see in this fact the proof for Wagner's statement that the sound of the human voice differs fundamentally from the sound of instruments, something he blamed for errors in his way of sketching music.[38] In any event, the dynamics of Wagner's orchestra has a wide range, varies permanently and it takes little effort to find passages where the text has influenced the shape of the overall dynamics. Wagner recited his libretti many times before he set them to music, and one may regard the dynamic levels as enhancements of the declamatory realisation of his texts. Generally, vocal and instrumental dynamics go in parallel. Parallels between the dynamics of spoken language and Wagner's vocal declamation can be established for his Romantic operas – *Feen*, *Holländer*, *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* – but not for *Liebesverbot* and *Rienzi*. Among his mature works, only *Meistersinger* has a relatively inflexible dynamic shape and different dynamic levels of speaking are imitated only occasionally.

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37   Most of them can be found in the *Tannhäuser* score.
38   Letter written May 4 1872 to Carl Riedel (Erich Kloss, ed., *Richard Wagner an seine Künstler. 2. Band der 'Bayreuther Briefe'*, 3rd edn. [Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1912], 19).

h) Modifications of the voice sound

Something that stands out with Wagner's vocal lines is his various and characteristic verbal instructions for the voice sound. They are not in Italian and refer rarely to singing technique. Instead, he used numerous attributes like "screaming", "howling", "shrill", "hoarse" or the like which one would rather expect to occur in a spoken drama. The singing teacher Julius Hey remarked that Wagner regarded such modifications based on the model of spoken language as the singer's "most important device to express moods".[39] This is a striking feature that may place the realisation of his vocal parts somewhere between singing and declaiming.

Wagner employed such declamatory voice modifications in all his operas. For instance, already in *Die Feen* directions like "with suffocated voice", "almost speaking", "as if waking up" can be found. They increase substantially in number in *Holländer* and their variety becomes larger after *Tannhäuser*. In *Meistersinger* and the four last acts of the *Ring*, they do not occur as often as in his previous works. Instead, here he uses some directions exclusively aimed at the singing technique; something he did on only very few occasions in his oeuvre. In *Parsifal*, he provides the singer again with many characteristic directions for the vocal delivery. It is a fact that the verbal directions in his scores corresponded to the theatrical reality of Wagner's time. He was eager to give his singers additional instructions in the same manner and contemporary listeners reported that he tried to establish a way of singing that was located and shifting between belcanto singing and melodramatic speech.[40]

i) Redundancy of text, melody and gesture

Nineteenth-century actors coordinated gesture and word expression synchronously. Often, gestures and facial expressions expressed the text content by imitation in a redundant manner. For instance, a word like "high" was stereotypically expressed by lifting the arms or a word like "heaven" by looking upwards.[41] Words like "zart" (soft, tender) or "scharf" (sharp, harsh) that could be characterized through voice modifications were spoken onomatopoetically, that is, the gestures corresponded also to the sound of the actor's voice.[42] Friedrich Nietzsche and Pierre Boulez maintained that linear redundancy between text, melody and gesture is an important feature of Wagner's dramas.[43] Can such a parallelisation between gesture and the shape of the vocal melodies be established analytically?

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39   Hey 1911, 33–34.
40   Knust 2007, chapter III plus corresponding appendix.
41   Cf. the illustrations of the declamation of John Gay's *The Miser and Plutus* in the appendix of Austin (Gilbert Austin, *Chironomia or A Treatise on Rhetorical Delivery* [London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1806], plate 12) and the copperplate prints for the melodrama *Lenardo und Blandine* of Joseph Franz von Götz (Joseph Franz von Götz, *Versuch einer zalreichen* [sic!] *Folge leidenschaftlicher Entwürfe* [Augsburg, 1783]).
42   Rötscher, 171–173; Wagner's Dresden colleague and friend Ferdinand Heine encouraged declaimers to make use of onomatopoeia (Ferdinand Heine, *Grundzüge eines Unterrichtsplanes in der Kunst des mündlichen Vortrags* [Dresden: Adler & Dietze, 1859], 39–40).
43   Knust 2007, 56–58, 346.

Wagner set high tones in accordance with the text or word content and followed there-by his own guidelines (see f) above). Vocal line shaping corresponding to the implicit and explicit gestures of his libretti can be found in all his operas without exception. But it is not before *Lohengrin*, where the amount of printed verbal stage directions increases considerably, that one can see such parallels between text, melody and gesture pervasively throughout the whole work. Additionally, Wagner gave his singers even more redundant stage directions when rehearsing his works. In *Meine Erinnerungen an Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld* he reports on rehearsing *Tannhäuser* with this singer. Wagner demanded several actions that are not mentioned in the score but that go in parallel, linearly with the voice melody of the title character.[44]

j) Diastematic indistinctiveness

As mentioned in b) above, Wagner tried to imitate the irregularities of spoken lan-guage's intervals and rhythm. This section focuses on one separate aspect of the di-astematic parameter. It is the question of how he succeeded in creating intervallic in-distinctiveness. Spoken German language does not follow the Western chromatic scale with its twelve pitches nor any other musical scale. Instead, speech melody employs often smaller, in terms of instrumental music, rather indistinctive intervals and de-velops freely without manifesting certain pitches. Two possibilities seem natural for imitating this feature: employing chromatic rather than diatonic vocal melodies; and avoiding distinctiveness by, for instance, not employing diatonic scales, broken chords and rhythmically mechanic chromatic scales that may appear more proper for an in-strumental realisation of the melody. Regrettably, the role of harmonics does not fit into the scope of this analysis.

Wagner employs pronounced diatonic melodies in *Feen*, *Rienzi*, *Meistersinger* and the sketches for *Siegfried's Tod*. In *Das Liebesverbot*, he additionally used rhythmical regular chromatic scale segments. In *Rienzi*, the musical declamation is often limited to the tones of diatonic chords, a characteristic of just this opera. These operas have, there-fore, distinct diatonic or chromatic melodic lines that, per se, are not speech-like. In *Holländer* and *Tannhäuser*, chromaticism and diatonism have a dramaturgical function; that is, they are related to certain spheres of the action. Here, Wagner obeyed the tradi-tion of the German Romantic opera; the human sphere is diatonic while the supernat-ural sphere – that is, Venus and the Venus mountain and the flying Dutchman and his ship – is illustrated by chromatic music. After *Tannhäuser*, Wagner developed several methods of chromatising his vocal melodies, which became more and more sub-tle over the years.[45] Broken diminished chords appear most often in the vocal parts of *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*, but vanished almost completely after the composition of the first acts of *Siegfried*. In *Parsifal*, Wagner employed the smallest interval of the Western tone system, the minor second, more often than before.

44   Knust 2007, 282–84.
45   I have discerned four types. However, the first type requires further differentiation (Knust 2007, 373–374).

k) Independence of vocal melodies from instrumental lines

If the vocal line is supposed to be understood as something different from the orchestra, it may appear as closer to spoken language than when it is a part of the instrumental sound; that is, when the vocal melody is structurally separated from the instrumental background. This can be achieved by avoiding colla parte structures. These occur when one or more instruments play unisono with the vocal soloist.

Generally, colla parte structures are scarce in Wagner's works except in *Das Liebesverbot*. Here, colla parte is the rule and independent vocal lines are the exception. After *Tannhäuser*, the use of colla parte accompaniment became very episodic. Wagner reduced it even more until composing *Tristan*, after which colla parte structures appear more often, especially in *Meistersinger*. After *Götterdämmerung*, again he reduced them. One reason for this increased use in *Meistersinger* and the final four *Ring* acts is that Wagner set many themes in the vocal melodies colla parte which occur more often there than in his previous works (see b). Despite these slight changes forth and back, Wagner's vocal lines – beside *Das Liebesverbot* – are generally much more rarely colla parte and linked to the orchestral part than in other contemporary operas.

l) Avoidance of verse and word repetitions

Verse and word repetitions are a familiar compositional tool for opera composers. They are constitutive of the aria form, among others. But they do not suit spoken language that unfolds in a rather prosaic way and avoids repetitions of pitches and rhythmic patterns. If a composer wants to write in a way that matches spoken language it is better to avoid verse repetitions and to use word repetitions only occasionally. Wagner himself maintained to have done so.[46]

The early dramatic works of Wagner, in other words, his first three operas and some smaller opera pieces, contain a vast number of verse repetitions. In *Das Liebesverbot*, they even appear in the recitatives. Beginning with the *Holländer*, he reduced word and verse repetitions significantly. In *Lohengrin*, some repetitions might be owing to musical reasons even though most – or perhaps even all – of them are dramatically motivated. After *Lohengrin*, he practically never again used musically motivated verse repetitions in the parts of his dramas where the figures speak and do not sing. There are two major exceptions to this: the love scene in the second act of *Tristan*; and the end of *Siegfried*. The sung motif "Durch Mitleid wissend der reine Tor" in *Parsifal* may be seen as an exception on its own.

m) Asymmetrical periods

Wagner polemicized in his theoretical texts against so-called square periods in music, that is, symmetrical melodic phrases like 2 + 2 or 4 + 4 measure phrases.[47] Carl

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46   Richard Wagner, "'Zukunftsmusik'," in *GSD* 7, 123.

47   Among others, in "Halévy und die Französische Oper," in Richard Sternfeld, ed., *Richard Wagner: Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen. Volksausgabe* 12, 5th edn. (Leipzig: C.F.W. Siegel's Musikalienhandlung [K. Linnemann], 1911), 136–138.

Dahlhaus advocated the thesis that Wagner's music becomes less symmetrical after *Lohengrin*.[48] Spoken language has no fixed rhythmical phrases. Therefore, asymmetry advances the similarity of the musical declamation to the sound of spoken language.

Actually, Wagner's musical declamation is asymmetrical from the very beginning of his career as a composer. Only the phrases in his operas *Liebesverbot* and *Rienzi* are mostly regular. After *Rienzi*, he returned to the asymmetry of *Die Feen* and maintained this until his last work. Perhaps he saw it as a characteristic feature of the German (Romantic) opera. There is no leap detectable when comparing the scores of *Lohengrin* and *Rheingold*, so Dahlhaus's thesis cannot be confirmed. Wagner uses regular phrases in his vocal declamation, however, this is always in the songs that are sung diegetically in *Holländer*, *Tannhäuser*, *Siegfried* and *Meistersinger*. Elsewhere, these regular phrases appear only sporadically in the solo parts or disappear entirely as in *Parsifal*.

n) Voice range and voice register

Spoken German does not exceed a certain pitch range. Nineteenth-century sources provide us with information about the vocal ranges used in different types of speech. Everyday speech did not exceed the range of a fifth[49] while theatrical declamation could make use of larger intervals and ranges. This means that some larger intervals in Wagner's musical declamation may imitate more extreme types of speaking. Concerning the voice register, similarity to spoken German language emerges when the so-called "Indifferenzlage" is applied. This neutral pitch is defined by German speech science as the register in which one can speak without employing much muscular effort regarding the voice. It is located in the lowest third of the total voice range, about one fourth or fifth higher than the lowest tones. In healthy male voices, it is located around the range of G to c and in female voices, about one octave higher around g to c'.[50] This provides the means to examine whether a specific use of the different voice types in Wagner's works can be detected.

As in nineteenth-century declamation, the intensity of the emotional tension of a text passage affects the voice range applied to Wagner's vocal lines; the higher the tension, the larger the range. But this is not unique to his works because this method was in use in opera and vocal music long time before Wagner. In one respect, however, his treatment of the voice range differs from the tradition: he considered that his solo passages in the lower voice register should be realised more closely to the sound of spoken language. In operas written before Wagner's, the contrast between the narrow range of a recitative and the larger range of the aria is often abrupt. In his first five

48   Carl Dahlhaus, "Musikalische Prosa" in Carl Dahlhaus, *Wagners Konzeption des musikalischen Dramas* (Munich/Kassel: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag and Bärenreiter, 1990), 60–68.

49   Louis Köhler, *Die Melodie der Sprache in ihrer Anwendung besonders auf das Lied und die Oper. Mit Berührung verwandter Kunstfragen dargelegt* [Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1853], p. 80.

50   Yvonne Anders, *Merkmale der Melodisierung des Sprechausdrucks ausgewählter Dichtungsinterpretationen im Urteil von Hörern. Sprechwissenschaftlich-phonetische Untersuchungen* (diss.) (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 2001), 40.

operas, where the traditional operatic forms are still employed or at least recognisable, those sharp contrasts still exist. After *Tannhäuser*, the transitions between declamatory and more emphatic sung passages became smoother and more flexible. In his first two operas, the extension of the voice range happened primarily upwards. After *Das Liebesverbot*, he considered extensions into the lower register too. The lower register is more close to the "Indifferenzlage" of spoken German and melodies in this register appear more speech-like than those sung in higher register. He was aware of this as a letter to Peter Cornelius proves.[51] Traditionally in Western art music, emphatic singing means idealizing while speaking in a musical context can be seen as eerie – like in the melodrama used in German Romantic opera – or even diabolic.[52] This may explain why Wagner used the baritone or bass register for his intriguers who often have *Sprechgesang* parts. Additionally, such intriguers like Alberich, Beckmesser and Klingsor are lacking a central voice register. It is mostly in the *Ring*, *Tristan* and *Parsifal* that Wagner wrote melodic lines that are particularly close to the model of spoken language regarding the use of voice range. For instance, if a character is shouting, the melody will rise; if it is whispering, it will sink. An investigation of the Wagnerian use of range shows significant differences to the opera tradition. Generally, his heroic voice ranges are lower than those of the Italian and French opera. In *Die Feen*, he had used excessively many high tones in the tenor part of Arindal. After *Rienzi*, there are only few spectacular high tenor tones to be found in his scores and they don't correspond to their use in Italian and French opera; Wagner, for instance, does not give the tenor a high, long, strong tone at his exit or at the end of an aria (the end of *Siegfried* is an exception here). With the part exception of Walther von Stolzing, who is presented as a singer, no Wagnerian tenor part after *Rienzi* is 'operatic' in the traditional sense. In the case of the female heroic voices, this dissimilarity is not as striking but it is nonetheless present.

o) Metrical structures

Spoken prosaic language has no fixed meter; versified speech, however, does and the metrical structure was presented emphatically on the historical theatre stage. Early recordings of Sarah Bernhardt's (1844–1923) declamation of Racine's works give us an impression about how the Alexandrine meter was realized in nineteenth century. Also, the Weimar declamation emphasized the metrical structure of a dramatic poem. Wagner himself wrote his dramas in verse but he despised both the French and the Weimar theatrical voice delivery and championed a more prosaic way of declaiming verses.[53] This leads to the presumption that he avoided or obscured fixed metrical structures in his music.

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51   Written June 14 1861, Werner Breig, ed., *Richard Wagner: Sämtliche Briefe* 13 (Wiesbaden/Leipzig/ Paris: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2003), 149–50.
52   In Hildegard von Bingen's mystery play *Ordo virtutum*, one of the earliest Western compositions, the devil speaks.
53   Knust 2007, 90–91, 189–190.

This presumption can be corroborated but rather indirectly and sporadically. Even though abrupt and often metrical changes are a rather rare event in his scores, he had composed such changes already in his first opera, *Die Feen*. Metrical changes in quick succession or irregular meters occur in moments of extreme affect in his works. Two moments in his oeuvre stand out in this respect and both may be best defined as moments of male madness: the madness scene of Arindal in the third act of *Die Feen*; and the febrile monologues of Tristan in the third act of *Tristan*. Polymetry, like in the song of the wood bird in *Siegfried*, is an exceptional case in his works.

A survey of the general metrical developments in his compositions shows that the young Wagner preferred the duple meter. In his first three operas, the meter does not change within such a single form complex that Wagner termed 'opera number'. In *Holländer* and *Tannhäuser* he started experimenting with metrical changes here and there. He did not pursue such experiments in *Lohengrin*, which became Wagner's most homogeneous opera in metrical respects, and almost the entire score is in quadruple meter. This uniformity seems to have struck him afterwards because his next projects became his most heterogeneous with respect to meter. In the sketches for *Siegfried's Tod*, the meter changes permanently; in the case of the Siegfried part, nearly from one measure to the next. This fragment has the most complex metrical structure of all music Wagner composed. It is even more complex than the metrical structure of *Das Rheingold* that became Wagner's most heterogeneous finished work as regards metrical structures. After *Das Rheingold*, he again wrote longer passages that remained in one specific meter. It is likely that this drastic change in his music after *Lohengrin* had to do with his efforts to create a prosaic flow from declamation because the use of accent signs in the vocal lines decreases significantly after *Lohengrin*. Given the fact that he started outlining his works by jotting down the vocal parts first, the hypothesis can be advanced that such frequent changes in metrical structures served to let the musical declamation appear more unpredictable. This would explain why the quantity of metrical changes decreased after *Das Rheingold* because Wagner could now rely on his increasing skills in writing speech-like passages by using or obscuring the accents in a certain meter (see b) and c) above). In short, he did not need to change the meter anymore when he wanted to make the speech accents more irregularly prosaic. Metrical changes remained rare after *Rheingold* and, if used, they do not necessarily refer to the model of spoken language anymore.

p) Melodramatic effects

The melodrama employs spoken language together with instrumental music. The speaker has to consider some musical parameters like rhythm and tempo and the musical expression as well but has liberty to shape the intervals of the speech melody. It is the sound of spoken language, not song, that is required when realizing the score. Wagner disliked melodrama as a genre.[54] He did not compose one but did use some

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54   *GSD* 4, 4; Kropfinger, 130; in *Oper und Drama* Wagner discards the changing between sung and spoken word as "incomprehensible" and "ridiculous" (*GSD* 4, 101; cf. *GSD* 3, 160, footnote).

melodramatic effects in his score, that is, short moments in which the singer may perform quite freely. Such effects are primarily the scream and the laughter and they first
occurred in eighteenth-century melodrama.[55]

Melodramatic effects in Wagner's scores are verbally or notationally fixed; even though
limited in number, their variety is notable. Besides laughing and screaming, Wagner
wanted his singers to also perform sighs, moaning, crying, gagging and voice cracking.
He applied them to figures of both gender. In his first opera, he used laughing written in
notes but, after *Das Liebesverbot*, verbal instructions appear in his scores. Their quantity increases in the scores written after *Tannhäuser* and, furthermore, in the first acts of *Siegfried*.
After a substantial reduction in *Tristan* and *Meistersinger*, he reintroduced them into his
music and intensified their use for the last time in his last work; the part of Kundry in the
beginning of the second act of *Parsifal* is the most melodramatic passage he ever wrote.

   For once, the performance history of Wagner's music shall be addressed as it completes the picture. In the twentieth century, singers used to insert additional screams
and the like.[56] They could rely on a tradition of high dramatic singing in Germany
that went back to the days of Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient who became the prototype of a high dramatic soprano and who employed her speaking voice often freely
when performing her parts.[57] Wagner as a performance instructor was part of this tradition, too. He demanded from his singers additional melodramatic effects during the
rehearsals for the Bayreuth world premières of *Ring* and *Parsifal*.[58] While the effects in
the female parts are usually performed even today according to the directions in the
score, this is no longer the case for the melodramatic effects of the male parts.

q) Musical form and diegesis

There is consensus in Wagner research that the *Holländer* is his last opera written in traditional forms. Wagner demanded in his theoretical texts from the 1830s that opera
composers ought to surmount the traditional number division of the music. There are
different theses about the formal models for his mature style as a vocal composer. Some
researchers have speculated that the accompagnato recitative could have had a substantial impact on Wagner's composing of *Sprechgesang*.[59] To verify or falsify this, Wagner's
first four operas, which follow the tradition of opera forms, will be examined closely.

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55   For instance, Ariadne's scream at the end of Jiří Antonín Benda's melodrama *Ariadne auf Naxos* from
     1778.
56   For instance, Leonie Rysanek (1926–1998) as Sieglinde in a live recording from Bayreuth 1967
     (published on CD, Philips no. 412-478-2).
57   Martin Knust and Ingela Tägil, "The Careers of Jenny Lind and Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient: A
     Comparison," in Christine Hoppe and Melanie von Goldbeck, eds., *Begegnung – Vermittlung – Innovation. Annäherungen an Musik- und Kompositionspraktiken im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen:
     Universitätsverlag, 2015), 85–132; Knust 2007, 206–215.
58   Cf. Heinrich Porges's rehearsal protocols transcribed in Pohl and Knust 2007, appendix to chapter III.
59   Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Bedeutung des Gestischen in Wagners Musikdramen* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1970),
     11–24; Karl Friedrich Richter, *Die Antinomien der szenischen Dramaturgie im Werk Richard Wagners.
     Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis von Illusion und Stilisierung in seinen Musikdramen* (diss., typewritten) (Munich, 1956), 137.

Another formal aspect is the synchronicity and diachronicity of the verses to be sung. Max Kalbeck (1850–1921) has pointed out that the strictly diachronic way of singing – that implies avoiding of ensembles – of Wagner's figures is a parallel to spoken drama.[60] Finally, the dramaturgical function of a piece of music in Wagner's scores could play an important role for its form. If, for instance, a character sings a song, its music is part of the diegetic world of the character. Of course, all characters in all works of Wagner sing always, but in this case the form may be a good way to distinguish a piece to be sung by a character from the parts of the score in which the characters are imagined as speaking.

The accompagnato is marginal in Wagner's early operas. He composed only one, however, without marking it as one. If one wants to employ the traditional distinction between accompagnato and secco recitative, it is the secco recitative that is much more common in his early works.[61] In *Das Liebesverbot*, he even employed spoken dialogues and solo parts that are unique in his entire oeuvre as an opera composer. This means that the accompagnato recitative could hardly have been the model for Wagner's *Sprechgesang* and, generally, it cannot be argued that it derives from the traditional recitative at all. Rather, it can be seen as an imitation of declamatory speech, that is, a reproduction of the non- or para-musical phenomenon of "the emotionally delivered speech", as Wagner put it.[62] After having written extensive, long chorus passages in his first three operas, his main compositional interest turned to the solo vocal line when composing the *Holländer*. Wagner's ambitions as a chorus composer vanish after *Lohengrin* and it is only in *Meistersinger* and *Parsifal* that longer and coherent chorus passages can be discovered and where the chorus figures act as more than just a form of stage decoration (as in *Tristan* and *Götterdämmerung*). After *Lohengrin*, the solo verses are almost exclusively to be sung diachronically. Wagner tried to avoid the synchronous singing of two characters in his *Ring* and *Parsifal*. In them, ensemble singing of three or more characters is more common than passages of two soloists singing at the same time. *Tristan* and *Meistersinger* are exceptions because, here, synchronous singing recalls operatic duets and ensembles can be established; the second act of *Tristan* is an exception on its own in this respect also as the libretto proves because, here, Wagner planned to repeat certain verses before setting them to music. The dramaturgical aspect turns out to be crucial for the form analysis of the music. Songs, which are imagined as being sung diegetically as a part of the action, differ from the prosaic vocal lines of the music that surrounds them. In these songs,

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60   Max Kalbeck, *Richard Wagner's Nibelungen: Erste Aufführung vom 13.—17.VIII.1876 in Bayreuth*, 3rd edn. (Breslau: Schletter'sche Buchhandlung [E. Franck], 1883) quoted in Susanna Großmann-Vendrey, *Bayreuth in der deutschen Presse. Ein Beitrag zur Rezeptionsgeschichte Richard Wagners und seiner Festspiele* 1 (Regensburg: Bosse, 1977), 191.

61   Nathan described the recitatives in *Die Feen* as Romantic successors of the secco recitative (Hans Nathan, *Das Rezitativ der Frühopern Richard Wagners (Ein Beitrag zur Stilistik des Opernrezitativs in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts)* (diss.) [Berlin: Dobrin, 1934], 7, 11, 20; cf. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Der Fall Wagner*, in Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, eds, *Nietzsche: Werke* vol 6, 3 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969), 25–26; of course, Nietzsche's statement has a polemic overtone.

62   *GSD* 4, 325–326; cf. Knust 2015, 225.

Wagner employs symmetrical phrases, fixed meters, melody repetitions and the like. Here, he followed traditional form models. For instance, the songs in *Tannhäuser* and *Meistersinger* are written in the bar form. Wagner's intention may have been to create historicizing music by referring to this authentic form. Diegetic songs occur also in *Holländer*, *Siegfried* and *Tristan*.

r) A cappella singing

If the voice sound as such evokes similarity to the spoken language, the similarity may be best recognizable when no instruments interfere with its frequencies. This is why a cappella passages belong, according to some researchers, to the most speech-like parts in Wagner's scores.[63] Perhaps even an abrupt reduction of the orchestral accompaniment can create such an effect as it lifts the voice acoustically into the centre of the listener's attention. An investigation of such passages and the a cappella singing in Wagner's scores seems, therefore, to be a promising task.

However, the result of the analysis turns out to be not very palpable. First, an a cappella-composed passage does not mean that a character speaks here. The diegetic songs of the young shepherd in *Tannhäuser*, the steersman in the *Holländer* or the sailor in *Tristan* are not – or just very sparsely – accompanied. Second, even though existing in all scores of Wagner, the a cappella passages cannot be classified systematically. They may or may not resemble or represent spoken language accurately and *Sprechgesang* passages can be accompanied without disguising their speech-like structure. These are the more or less consistent tendencies I found when analysing Wagner's oeuvre: heroic characters, which often sing with emphasis, appear more like a speaking character when the orchestra stops playing; and Wagner often silenced or reduced the accompaniment when verses or verse parts are sung that are crucial for the understanding of the action in order to make the text more easily perceivable regardless whether the singing character is a hero or an intriguer. Regarding the dynamic interplay between orchestra and soloist, it can be stated that Wagner became more and more masterful as a composer in letting such important text passages sound through the sound of the orchestra. The quantity of a cappella passages decreases after *Tannhäuser*. Wagner's orchestral accompaniment became steadily more coherent and dense. In *Tristan*, *Meistersinger* and the last four acts of the *Ring*, only a handful of measures in the entire scores are composed a cappella. In *Parsifal*, Wagner thinned out the orchestra much more compared to his previous works and used a cappella more often when composing even though not for writing longer passages that way but rather for frequent short interruptions of the orchestral accompaniment.

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63 Ulrich Schreiber, *Opernführer für Fortgeschrittene* 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2005), 477–78; Rudolf Kirsten, *Streifzüge durch die musikalische Deklamation in Richard Wagners* Parsifal (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 22.

5. The Sprechgesang *in Wagner's oeuvre – The genetic aspect*

In this section, a summary of the results of the eighteen analyses from the former section will be presented in order to give some final conclusions about the development and compositional use of the *Sprechgesang* in Wagner's oeuvre. But first, the results of the sketch analyses will be presented and linked together within this overview of Wagner's oeuvre.

The analyses of the sketches – in particular the first drafts – showed that the same sketch type served different functions during Wagner's career. The first draft of *Die Feen* is not the first sketch of the music; there are no mistakes and the voices are neatly arranged, as in a piano score. Apparently, the first drafts of Wagner's first four operas present a more advanced stage than the latter ones. Wagner's outlining strategy can be divided into three different periods. The first period embraces his first four operas. Here, the first drafts almost look like a vocal score and, in this manner, resemble the second drafts of his later periods. During the second period, from *Tannhäuser* to *Tristan*, the first drafts were much more sketchy and written from the beginning to the end exactly the way a reciter recites his texts. In *Tannhäuser*, this consecutive outlining was still a laborious process for Wagner, as the sketches show. Except for *Rheingold* and *Walküre*, all works after *Holländer* were outlined in a so-called second draft that Wagner wrote almost parallel with the first one. During this middle period, it is the vocal line that emerges first. The accompaniment is only vaguely perceptible in the first drafts. Often, Wagner does not give more than a chord or some tones for outlining it. Passages close to spoken language were now easily jotted while the more 'operatic' passages required some time and effort before being finished. During the third period, which embraces all works composed after *Tristan*, Wagner preferred to proceed in outlining his works by inserting thematic or motivic material into the sketches. This led to a less speech-like musical declamation.

This work genesis had an impact on the shape of the musical declamation. In the case of the *Sprechgesang*, a similar temporal structure can be postulated as for the sketches. After having written his three first operas, Wagner 'invented' the *Sprechgesang* in *Holländer*; thereafter he used it only sporadically, as in the next opera *Tannhäuser*. In *Lohengrin*, the *Sprechgesang* becomes used more frequently – throughout the entire drama – in *Rheingold* it dominates the score and, after that, it becomes one of several techniques for forming the musical declamation. A successive reduction can be seen in the next works until *Tristan*. In *Meistersinger*, the *Sprechgesang* is absent only to be carefully reinstalled in the last four acts of the *Ring* and more forcefully in Wagner's last work, *Parsifal*. It is thus the works of the second period that show most unaltered how early nineteenth-century actors declaimed.

6. Outlook: Further applicability of the analytical toolbox

As demonstrated, my analytical toolbox served well my aim of investigating the structure, genesis and frequency of the *Sprechgesang* in Wagner's works. In this last section, I would like to outline briefly the potential applicability for vocal music research in

other areas and contexts. It is apparent that some methods – or even the whole tool-box – may be useful when trying to establish the proximity of spoken language to musical declamation in the context of operatic and Western art music in general. Western music that is written down and constrains itself to the traditional tonality and pitches can be analysed without any larger modifications by these methods.

A greater challenge might be to establish connections between spoken and sung language in generally non-notated music, for instance, in popular and folk music. But even here, the methods in some sections and sub-sections might be analytically promising, especially those presented in methods a) to e) and j) to n).

Whatever the genre, the application of one or several of these methods can give an answer as to whether and to what extent the genesis of a certain piece of music has anything to do with the sound of spoken language. For example, in popular music, two strategies exist for creating a song: the voice melody and text are put onto a ready-produced accompaniment; or a text is set to music as in classical music composition. In the latter case, the melody will show more and significant similarities with spoken language than in the former.

Analysis and production of music are symbiotic in the Western classical tradition. Many music analysts are composers and vice versa. One could therefore also use the methods of my toolbox as criteria for composing vocal music with good text perceivability. In particular, the rules of the diastematic and prosodic shaping may, when obeyed, lead to a satisfying result, not only in solo song but, for instance, also in choral composition. The more a melodic line corresponds to the rules of spoken language, the more grateful it will become for a singer.

Returning to my starting position in this paper, my analysis has proven that substantial analogies between Wagner's vocal lines and nineteenth-century declamation and recitation exist. This opens a fascinating perspective on the performance practice in German theatre of this time that was in use several decades before the first recordings of declamation and recitation were made. In other words, this analysis allows us to catch a glimpse of the actual sound of spoken language in the pre-recording era. In Wagner's music, we can face directly the exaggeration, pathos and ponderousness that were abundant on the theatre stages of early nineteenth-century Germany.

Abstract

Richard Wagner's musical declamation is strongly influenced by the theatrical decla-
mation style of 1820s and 1830s Saxony, as I have shown in my doctoral thesis. This
has consequences for the analysis of his music because the artistic speech of the ac-
tors – a historical acoustic phenomenon that can be reconstructed roughly – deter-
mines his singing parts in many instances. In my paper, I present a new type of musi-
cal analysis, one that enables the systematic comparison of the sound of spoken lan-
guage with the composed vocal melody. Positing similarities and differences between
musical and theatrical declamations requires a multipronged approach. Toward this
aim, I have developed an analysis consisting of eighteen different methods. The pros-
ody – that is, the rhythmical organization of long and short syllables – the melody,
the shift of tempo, the accentuation and dynamics of the spoken German language
will be among other elements considered in this analysis. As I can demonstrate, all
these language parameters have informed Wagner's works to a great extent. In his case,
the theatrical declamation became the germinating element of his music. To prove my
thesis and to illustrate my method, I will present an analysis encompassing the entire
vocal solo parts of all of Wagner's works for the stage, finished works as well as frag-
ments. Since this type of analysis is useful in describing and evaluating not only the
final product of composition, the full score, but the composition process as well, all of
Wagner's sketches will be considered. Finally, I will reflect upon whether this kind of
analysis could be applicable to other forms and styles of vocal music too.

ERIK STEINSKOG

Analog Girl in a Digital World
Erykah Badu's Vocal Negotiations of the Human

Introduction

The lyrics to the song "… & On" from Erykah Badu's 2000 album *Mama's Gun* contains the line an "analog girl in a digital world," a phrase Marlo David calls "the central metaphor with which to explore humanist and post-human subjectivities."[1] When Badu came on the music scene she was understood in relation to the subgenre of "neo-soul," but, in understanding the analog girl in a digital world, a broader cultural context is important. Technological developments are an integrated dimension of the production of popular music and one key dimension of the discourse from the late 1980s on was the continual process of digitalization. What I mean by the use of the term digitalization is how the digital became ever-present, from the personal computer to the Internet and cell phones, but also as an important tool for the production of music, both with synthesizers and with production technology. In other words, the technological context of a musical artist is part of the background on which she is read and understood. Badu's text-line, however, points to an inherent opposition within this field. The world is a digital one, but the girl mentioned is still analog. What does such an opposition or dichotomy says about the relation between humans and their world in general? The digitalization going on in the world changes the world, and thus our relationship to it, and the interaction with technology also alters human beings' possibilities of engagement on different levels. The ubiquity of technology, in different forms, can lead to us not paying attention to these changes, as they are gradual. As such, Badu's statement points to what could be seen as an unsolved dilemma. If the analog is to be protected in the midst of digitalization, as could be one way of reading her musical statements, this leads to questions of how we relate to technology, including how we resist technology in some determinist sense.

In this article, I want to discuss what I will refer to as "the black posthuman" in African-American popular music, with a particular focus on Badu. Dealing with the posthuman, I will also bring in the discourse on afrofuturism as exemplified by writers and cultural critics Mark Dery and Kodwo Eshun. Particularly in Eshun's version of afrofuturism there seems to be a focus on the posthuman as a way of being "post-

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1   Marlo David, "Afrofuturism and Post-Soul Possibilities in Black Popular Music," *African American Review* 41/4 (2007), 695-707, 697.

soul" and thus moving beyond – in some historical sense – the period of soul. Post-soul here could also be seen as being after the Civil Rights Movement, making it a generational marker. This way of being post-soul would include, then, attitudes of blacks born after the Civil Rights Movement, and in some ways also the attitudes of the hip hop generation.[2] Such a generational view stands, in one sense, in contrast to the understanding of afrofuturism, as afrofuturism seems to want to break with linear time. At the same time, historical linearity is very much part of understanding of culture, and one can hardly manage to think without some kind of orientation in time and space. What could, perhaps, be done in relation to Badu, however, is to see the prefixes "neo-" and "post-" as marking different ways of relating to the past, as repetition and moving beyond, or, perhaps even as repetition and difference, as a reiteration of what Amiri Baraka (then LeRoi Jones) called "the changing same."[3]

Soul, Neo-soul, Post-soul

When Erykah Badu made her recording debut, *Baduizm*, in 1997, she was immediately hailed as "the queen of neo-soul." As a category, neo-soul obviously references soul, and thus records a kind of repetition. In many reviews, the sound of neo-soul was described as organic or through the use of other metaphors signifying life, and it could sound as if Badu – and others such as D'Angelo and Maxwell – reinstated life into a musical culture based on machines. That such an understanding is limited, however, almost goes without saying, as neo-soul obviously also related to hip hop, one of the musical styles/genres based, in one sense at least, on machines. From such a perspective one could, perhaps, argue for a relation within neo-soul that is formed from a combination of the human and the machine, for some kind of merger between the two rather than continuing to see them in opposition.

The notion of neo-soul is interesting for a number of reasons. The term is primarily associated to the end of the 20th century and there is a kind of millennial vibe in its reference. This also has to do with the history of black popular music and it is difficult not to hear the term as being in some kind of opposition to both the hip hop and the R&B heard around the same time. As a generational term, however, there are huge similarities between the artists understood as neo-soul and the hip hop generation, perhaps nowhere better shown than in the Soulquarians collective. These similarities are also heard in the music produced and, in that sense, neo-soul continues a tradition found in the 1990s in hip hop and R&B where musical features moved between the two genres. A band like The Roots, for example, could easily be seen as related to the neo-soul movement, as is testified way beyond the year 2000 with Questlove's

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2   Bertram Ashe, "Theorizing the Post-Soul Aesthetic: An Introduction," *African American Review* 41/4 (2007), 609-623, Bakari Kitwana, *The Hip Hop Generation: Young Blacks and the Crisis in African American Culture (*New York: Basic Books, 2002).

3   LeRoi Jones (Amiri Baraka), "The Changing Same (R&B and New Black Music), in *Black Music* (New York: Akashic Books, 2010 (originally published in 1968)), 205-241. Cf. also Paul Gilroy, "Sounds Authentic: Black Music, Ethnicity, and the Challenge of the *Changing* Same," *Black Music Research Journal* 11/2 (1991), 111-136.

presence on albums by both Badu and D'Angelo. Badu's relationship with André 3000 from OutKast is not only a personal relationship but also points to musical collaborations and, it could be argued, shows one possible entry point to discussing Badu related to afrofuturism – where OutKast often is referenced.[4]

Neo-soul, however, and also, quite literally, references both a seemingly bygone age and its renaissance: "a new soul." In that sense, the music refers back to the past, as if an important issue is to reinstate something found in soul that, one feels, is perceived as lost. In that sense, there is some kind of repetition at stake. With neo-soul understood as building on musical elements from R&B, hip hop, jazz, and other musical styles, there is an important dimension for interpretations in how aesthetic and cultural contexts seemingly exist beyond or before the different styles or genres. In other words, there is a generalized discourse on black music available. Similar elements are at stake within the afrofuturist discourse, even if there has been a tendency to focus upon a kind of avant-garde lineage of artists and styles. Much of this interpretation is about how to understand "soul." Kodwo Eshun is probably the writer who is most "anti-soul," seemingly eager to get beyond soul, or beyond anywhere where "soul" is valued above any other components. In this he uses the notion of "post-soul," but he takes this notion even further than, for example, Nelson George does, where George primarily uses "post-soul" as a term for art and artists from the time after the Civil Rights Movement as well as, arguably, a particular black form of postmodernism.[5] Such a particular black understanding also makes sense related to Alexander Weheliye's interpretation of "the posthuman" within black popular music culture. Following Eshun, but also arguing against him, Weheliye claims that, for black artists, "the posthuman" can never mean quite the same as it could within the primarily white cybertheory of the 1980s and 1990s, and this has to do with the contested dimension of the category of "the human" within the history of blacks in the US.[6] Eshun would not necessarily disagree, and also points to how blacks were understood as only 3/5 human, but his solution is different from Weheliye's.[7] For Eshun, and here he seems to be following Sun Ra, the solution is to bypass the very category of the human, to become superhuman or posthuman, preferably on another planet. Weheliye on the other hand argues that the presence of the human within the black posthuman is not simply nostalgia, but also an affirmation of humanity.

Weheliye's examples are different than mine, but it makes sense to see Erykah Badu localized in the midst of this, as a singular negotiation between the past, the present, and the future, as claiming her musical and racial heritage while making up-to-date music, as constantly moving between the past and the possible future. In this, she also challenges versions of the afrofuturist framework, especially where that framework is

4   Cf. Howard Rambsy II, "Beyond Keeping It Real: OutKast, the Funk Connection and Afrofuturism," *American Studies* 52/4 (2013), 205-216.
5   Cf. Nelson George, *Buppies, B-Boys, Baps & Bohos: Notes on Post-Soul Black Culture* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992) and Nelson George, *Post-Soul Nation* (New York: Viking, 2004).
6   Alexander G. Weheliye, "'Feenin': Posthuman Voices in Contemporary Black Popular Music," *Social Text* 20/2 (2002), 21-47.
7   Kodwo Eshun, *More Brilliant Than The Sun: Adventures in Sonic Fiction* (London: Quartet Books, 1999), 113.

perceived as more science fiction than most of Badu's work would be. Arguably, the most science fiction dimension in Badu's output is the last scene of the video to "Next Lifetime," taking place in a future Africa, but it is precisely the fact that it is set in Africa that distinguishes her work from those artists arguing for the necessity of going to outer space to find a place where black culture can prosper. The story of the video takes place at three different points in time: pre-colonial Africa, referenced as "Motherland 1637 A.D.," the United States in 1968 (called "The Movement: 1968"), and a future space-aged Africa, "Motherland 3037 a.d."[8] Badu is present in all three scenes, as is a man she looks at passionately in the first scene. She is, however, already in a relationship, and thus the "maybe next lifetime" theme is stated. Badu's visual performance is clearly Afrocentric and, in one sense, might thus be seen as challenging notions of afrofuturism. The video, however, underlines a science fiction aspect in that the third chapter is set in the future. That it is a future Africa is important because she seems less occupied with leaving the planet behind.[9] In that sense she is more concrete about the future, less inclined to science fiction so to speak, illustrating that there are indeed blacks in the future.[10] The Afrocentricity, however, seems to suggest that this future is the Motherland rather than a changed USA. In this, too, she is in a long tradition of African Americans, and her utopia is some kind of return. The kind of time-traveling Badu engages with in "Next Lifetime," however, clearly builds on science fiction or afrofuturist tropes and also challenges traditional narrative structures. The Afrocentric dimension of the video points to an alternative history for blacks (African and Afro-diasporic subjects) where the Civil Rights Movement becomes the point from where the future can appear.

Kodwo Eshun's *More Brilliant Than The Sun* was written around the same time as Badu made her debut, and first published in 1998. The ideas he presents, however, are also found in John Akomfrah's movie *The Last Angel of History* from 1996, not only when Eshun is on-screen but in the very script of the movie, and so these ideas can safely be said to have been around in the middle of the 1990s.[11] Writing the history of afrofuturism as a discourse, one needs also to include Mark Dery, Mark Sinker, and Greg Tate, but it still shows that something was building up in the beginning of the 1990s. This, of course, does not mean that the phenomena discussed in this writing as being related to the term afrofuturism began at this time. The music, art, and writing now discussed as afrofuturist certainly goes back further, but the terms afrofuturism, sonic fiction, black science fiction, and the other terms used to get to grips with these

8   In the video it is written "A.D." in the past, and "a.d." in the future.
9   Insisting on a future Africa is also in agreement with Eshun's argument from "Further Considerations on Afrofuturism," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3/2 (2003), 287-302, that: "If global scenarios are descriptions that are primarily concerned with making futures safe for the market, then Afrofuturism's first priority is to recognize that Africa increasingly exists as the object of futurist projections" (291).
10   The question of whether there are or will be black people in the future is key in much writing about afrofuturism, such as, for example Ytasha L. Womack, *Afrofuturism: The World of Black Sci-Fi and Fantasy Culture* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2013).
11   Mark Dery coined the term "afrofuturism," of which more below, in "Black to the Future." In addition to Dery's text, other crucial texts in the primal history of the afrofuturist discourse are Mark Sinker, "Loving the Alien: Black Science Fiction," *The Wire* #96 (1992), 30-33 and Greg Tate, *Flyboy in the Buttermilk: Essays on Contemporary America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992).

phenomena opened up and gave different perspectives still discussed today. Already in the introduction to Eshun's book, however, there are some very interesting passages that are relevant for discussing "soul." He writes:

> At the Century's End, the Futurhythmachine has 2 opposing tendencies, 2 synthetic drives: the Soulful and the Postsoul. But then all music is made of both tendencies running simultaneously at all levels, so you can't merely *oppose* a humanist r&b with a posthuman Techno. Disco remains the moment when Black Music falls from the grace of gospel tradition into the metronomic assembly line. Ignoring that disco is therefore *audibly* where the 21st C begins, 9 out of 10 cultural crits prefer their black popculture humanist, and emphatically 19th C. Like Brussels sprouts, humanism is good for you, nourishing, nurturing, soulwarming – and from Phyllis Wheatley to R. Kelly, present-day R&B is a perpetual fight for human status, a yearning for human rights, a struggle for inclusion within the human species. Allergic to cybersonic if not to sonic technology, mainstream American media – in its drive to banish alienation, and to recover a sense of the whole human being through belief systems that talk to the 'real you' – compulsively deletes any intimation of an AfroDiasporic futurism, of a 'webbed network' of computerhythms, machine mythology and conceptechnics, which routes, reroutes and criss-crosses the Black Atlantic. This digital diaspora connecting the UK to the US, the Caribbean to Europe to Africa, is in Paul Gilroy's definition a 'rhizomorphic, fractal structure', a 'transcultural, international formation'.[12]

There are many dimensions one could discuss in this quote, but Eshun's opposition of "the Soulful and the Postsoul" is of interest in the current context. While he claims that "all music is made of both tendencies running simultaneously" and that there thus is not really a sharp opposition, his writing still seems to favor the post-soul – and the posthuman – above the soulful and the humanist. Claiming that the twenty-first century begins with disco, when black music "falls from the grace of gospel tradition into the metronomic assembly line," there is also a thinking about progress at stake. And moving from a spiritual technology – the gospel tradition – to a machinic technology – the metronomic assembly line – takes the music into a place becoming posthuman, what he calls "an AfroDiasporic futurism," a term that must be seen as his version of afrofuturism.[13] What happens when reading Weheliye's answer to Eshun, however, is that the place of Badu – whom none of them mentions – becomes interesting as an answer to an unasked question. This is the question about the possible relations between post-soul and neo-soul, in what sense it is the same understanding of soul that is at stake, and thus whether, or in what sense, neo-soul is a repetition of soul.

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12 Eshun, *More Brilliant*, -006. The pagination to Eshun's book is unusual, as the introduction has negative numbers. This is how it appears in the text. The Gilroy-quote is from *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993), 4.

13 Dery is mentioned in Eshun's book, in the interview beginning at page 178 where Eshun gives his history of afrofuturism, mentioning Dery, but also Sinker and Tate.

Cybertheory and Afrofuturism

Trying to get to grips with some of the possible understandings of Badu's production, I want to read her as related to two seemingly different threads: firstly to a dimension of cyberculture and cybertheory leading to discussions of the human versus the posthuman; and secondly to the discourse referred to as afrofuturism. These two lines of thought are intimately related, and the text where the term afrofuturism was coined, Mark Dery's "Black to the Future," is published in Dery's edited volume *Flame Wars: The Discourse of Cyberculture*.[14] In the 20 years or so since Dery's article, which comprises primarily interviews with Samuel Delany, Greg Tate, and Tricia Rose, appeared discussions on afrofuturism have proliferated, with a recent publication, entitled *Afrofuturism 2.0*, marking not only a continuation or upgrade of the theoretical perspective, but also an ongoing conversation about what afrofuturism can be.[15] Arguably, something similar can be said about cybertheory, although notions of cyberspace, digitalization, and so forth also change as formerly new items and gadgets become everyday objects. But the cybertheory of the 1990s is clearly found today in discussions on robots, cyborgs, artificial intelligence, and so on, where some of the foundational questions of cybertheory appear in a partly new light. One key question here is what it means to be human or, even more generally, what the category of "the human" signifies. As such there is a line of thought from the discourse Dery partakes in via N. Katherine Hayles' *How We Became Posthuman* from 1999 to Rosi Braidotti's *The Posthuman* (2013).[16]

Dery's interview begins with him setting the stage, taking as the point of departure the question "why do so few African Americans write science fiction?" From this question comes his definition of Afrofuturism:

> Speculative fiction that treats African-American themes and addresses African-American concerns in the context of twentieth-century technoculture – and, more generally, African-American signification that appropriates images of technology and a prosthetically enhanced future – might, for want of a better term, be called 'Afrofuturism'.[17]

Continuing this line of thought, he also argues that: "African-American voices have other stories to tell about culture, technology, and things to come,"[18] mentioning examples from painting, film, music, literature, and so on. His musical examples are Jimi

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14   Mark Dery, "Black to the Future: Interviews with Samuel R. Delany, Greg Tate, and Tricia Rose," in *Flame Wars: The Discourse of Cyberculture*, edited by Mark Dery (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 179-222. Almost the whole volume was first published as an issue of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 92/4, 1993, but this does not take away the intimate relation between afrofuturism and cyberculture at this point.

15   Cf. Reynaldo Anderson & Charles E. Jones (eds.), *Afrofuturism 2.0: The Rise of Astro-Blackness* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015).

16   N. Katherine Hayles, *How We Became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), Rosi Braidotti, *The Posthuman* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).

17   Dery, "Black to the Future," 180.

18   Dery, "Black to the Future," 182.

Hendrix's *Electric Ladyland*, George Clinton's *Computer Games*, Herbie Hancock's *Future Shock*, Bernie Worrell's *Blacktronic Science*, as well as Sun Ra's Arkestra, Parliament-Funkadelic, and Lee "Scratch" Perry, all musicians that must be said to have now become part of an afrofuturist canon. Such a canon-formation can be criticized, and has been, but the diversity of these artists still makes the list a good point of departure for discussing music and afrofuturism. Another key-text in establishing this foundation is Eshun's *More Brilliant Than The Sun: Adventures in Sonic Fiction*. The sonic fiction points to how Dery's notion of speculative fiction can obviously also have a sonic parallel, and the fiction simultaneously points to how the sounds as such are only one part of the story but where the contextual dimensions, the stories that the music and musicians tell, are important too. From such a point of view, current afrofuturist discourse on music has expanded way beyond the canonic and includes also more "mainstream" music.

Badu's music continues developments in contemporary black music, but there are simultaneously traits both in her music, lyrics, and visuals that could be interpreted as more conservative. Here, tradition and modernity, the old and the new, intersect in a different way than seen in much afrofuturist discourse in which an avant-garde thinking has dominated. In this context, it becomes important to interpret Badu's music not only in relation to the category of neo-soul but also in relation to discourses on development or the avant-garde. Both Jason King and Marlo David have criticized afrofuturism for establishing a canon of primarily avant-garde leanings. What is of interest is not so much what is included in this canon but what is excluded and why. King argues that there is an afrofuturist canon "of techno and hip hop" that is "selectively male and heterosexist" and that it excludes music with vocals – particularly female and transgender voices;[19] whereas David claims that, with its focus on "radical black music styles – electronic music and experimental jazz" – afrofuturist discourse "leaves mainstream black music behind."[20] In this, David argues, "popular R&B" is excluded. One reason for this exclusion, she claims, is that this music still clings to an idea of the humanist subject. And so, while Badu may be less mainstream than, for example, Beyoncé or Rihanna, she is at the same time musically much closer to R&B than the examples more commonly found within the afrofuturist discourse.[21]

Digitalization can be seen as a way of removing the soul from music, if soul is understood as some kind of core value of humanity rather than as a musical genre. As such digitalization replaces humanity, implying that humanity is a thing of the past. Here, another feature of cybertheory appears in which cybertheory develops a posthuman aspect. Discourses on the posthuman are simultaneously utopian and dystopian, and neo-soul arguably participates in the more dystopian aspects in the sense that it struggles to keep humanity as important and crucial within – and against – a process

19   Jason King quoted in Nabeel Zuberi, "Is This the Future? Black Music and Technology Discourse," *Science Fiction Studies* 34/2 (2007), 283-300, 290.
20   Marlo David, "Afrofuturism and Post-Soul," 696.
21   For a reading of Beyoncé and Rihanna within a somewhat similar framework, see Robin James, "'Robo-Diva R&B': Aesthetics, Politics, and Black Female Robots is Contemporary Popular Music," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 20/4 (2008), 402-423.

of continuous digitalization understood as a gradual removal of the human. In *Neuro-mancer* (1984), a novel of huge importance for the cyberdiscourse of the 1990s, William Gibson wrote: "the body was meat."[22] This opens up a form of thinking where, in cyberspace, people could move around as disembodied entities – not only as cyborgs with the mixture inherent in the term cybernetic organism (the mixture of cybernetic circuits and organic materiality) but also, perhaps, by simply leaving the body behind.

Theoretical discourses following the definitions of cyberspace have been criticized for being blind to the privileged position from which they were written. In order to keep the body in the equation, however, criticism has been directed to embodiment within techno-utopian theories. N. Katherine Hayles stresses this in *How We Became Posthuman* when drawing attention to how gendered embodiment continues to be important and, simultaneously, how theories of disembodiment tend to remove any thought of gender, thus ending up with an abstract notion of "Man" – a notion understood more often than not as a white, heterosexual, middle-class male. In this, even the techno-utopia of cybertheory is in danger of reestablishing an older, patriarchal and heteronormative world, where the so-called liberal subject becomes the model for humanity at large. Whereas Hayles emphasizes the importance of thinking of gender (and sexuality) in relation to developments in cybertheory and theories of the posthuman, Alexander Weheliye and Thomas Foster argue against the "literal and virtual whiteness of cybertheory."[23] In these intersections, however, between the cyborg/robot, its gendered as well as racialized status, a complexity of reading arises. As Weheliye makes clear, also following Eshun's discussions, in interpreting "black posthumanism" the very notion of "human" is contested. But Weheliye's boundaries between musical genres are less categorical than Eshun's: "If we consider the history of black American popular music, we can see both forces, the humanist and the posthumanist, at work."[24] With this argument, R&B and soul become more important for Weheliye's argument than these genres are for Eshun, simultaneously opening up for what could be termed a more mainstream posthumanism. His examples impinge, to a large extent, on the uses of vocoders and other voice-altering technologies, and these lead to a kind of black cyborg, exemplified by Zapp. While the cyborg is not the same as the posthuman there are, on a general level, similarities, not least in interpreting the relations between human and machine. A classic text is Donna Haraway's "A Manifesto for Cyborgs" (first published in 1985), where she argues that women of color can be understood as cyborgs. Her understanding of the cyborg as having no origin story in the Western sense could be seen as problematic from an African-American perspective, but is simultaneously inscribed in a breakdown of the understanding both of "Man" and of "Western."[25] In another vein, one could even expand on Haraway's

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22 William Gibson, *Neuromancer* (New York: Ace Books, 1984).
23 Weheliye, "Feenin'," 21. Cf. also Thomas Foster, *The Souls of Cyberfolk: Posthumanism as Vernacular Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
24 Weheliye, "Feenin'," 30.
25 Donna Haraway, "A Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology, and Socialist Feminism in the 1980s," in Haraway, *The Haraway Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004) 14.

understanding of the cyborg as related to women of color by seeing how African Americans – including men, but not excluding women – have been understood in relation to "the human." As slaves, as subhumans, as workers, they are also close to the classic understanding – or definition – of the robot. What comes across in Haraway's reading is the possibility of understanding the cyborg in less obvious technological terms than those often found in cybertheory. Compared to Hayles' arguments, there is no reason to claim the necessity of disembodiment; the gendered and racialized identities establish a kind of technologized understanding of embodiment too. Black subjectivity is, thus, also an answering back to the understanding wherein the slaves were objects or things, or the more current understanding of blackness as a technology.[26]

Posthuman Voices

With the understanding of the posthuman as closely related to questions of embodiment versus disembodiment, one key feature from a musical point of view is obviously the singing voice. David argues for Badu's "dominant voice" as referencing a tradition including both Chaka Khan and Billie Holiday and as working across musical genres. But she also underlines how the sonic context, with "bleeps and glitches reminiscent of any sci-fi film," at the same time opens up for a number of voices. Her example is Badu's current (at the time) album, *New Amerykah: Part One (4th World War)* (from 2008). These different voices David interprets as pointing to a multiplicity of interests for the discussion of subjectivities:

> Through this multifaceted vocal instrumentation, other-worldly production, and digital sampling, Badu articulates her constructed aural subjectivity, which simulates a profound engagement with the boundaries between past and present, as well as authentic and engineered. Where does Badu's 'real' voice begin and end?[27]

The visual material published in relation to *New Amerykah: Part One* also showed how her body was imagined as merged with sonic technology, as such her body and technology fuse into a version of the cyborg. Perhaps, in one sense, the same could be said about her musical sound. "Cyborg" is short for cybernetic organism, and as such the electronic or technological on the one hand and the organic on the other are merged into an entity. Following Weheliye, one could argue that the black cyborg would be somewhat different from the white one if not for any other reason than the exclusion of blacks from the category of the human throughout white history. Whether this is what Badu is striving towards is another question but, as David makes clear, there is rich potential for interpreting different versions of negotiations of subjectivity. David references Evelyn McDonnell's interview with Badu from 2008 where Badu says: "*New*

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26   For blackness and blacks understood as objects, see Fred Moten, *In the Break: The Aesthetic of the Black Radical Tradition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); for blackness as technology see Womack, *Afrofuturism*, 27.
27   David, "Afrofuturism and Post-Soul Possibilities," 702.

Amerykah is a statement that simply says, 'This is the beginning of the new world' – for both slaves and slave masters," and where she also adds that "I claim to be an analog girl, so I'm in this new world, invading its space."[28] The new world, the new America where Erykah is inscribed, is thus a contemporary space where Badu both fits in and does not fit in at the same time. Here, a dimension of the analog is underlined, pointing to the presence of different layers of subjectivity.

For Eshun the use of technologies such as the vocoder alters subjectivity radically and installs a different kind of entity. One of his examples is the Jonzun Crew's album *Lost in Space* (1983), in particularly the track "Space Is the Place." With this title, the Sun Ra reference is obvious, but Eshun's focus is the alterations of the voice: "On Jonzun Crew's *Space is the Place*, the Arkestral chant becomes a warning blast rigid with Vadervoltage. Instead of using synthesiser tones to emulate string quartets, Electro deploys them inorganically, unmusically."[29] The point with the vocoder-voice, for Eshun, is that the voice is turned into a synthesizer and thus, one could argue, dehumanized. What terms to use questions how one understands a number of categories, such as "music," "voice," "subjectivity," and so on. When Eshun claims that the synthesizers are used inorganically, it is not necessarily a negative judgment. Rather, it should be seen as a prolongation of Eshun's writing about the movement from the human to the posthuman. In that sense, "dehumanizing" would be wrong too as, in relation to black music, the notion of "the human" is very much at stake. Weheliye takes the focus on the vocoder and its relation to black posthumanism further. Criticizing the then emerging theories of the posthuman, he argues for engaging black cultural production, not only to contest "the literal and virtual whiteness of cyberspace," but also so as to "realign the hegemony of visual media in academic considerations of virtuality by shifting the emphasis to the aural."[30] This focus on the aural, he argues, "counteracts the marginalization of race rather than rehashing the whiteness, masculinity and disembodiment of cybernetics and informatics."[31] Thus blackness, femininity, and embodiment might enter the discourse on different levels and, as such, qualify the discourse on posthumanity. It is through sound technologies that this change becomes most obvious, and Weheliye too explores the vocoder in this context, defining it as "a speech-synthesizing device that renders the human voice robotic, in R&B, since the audible machinic black voice amplifies the vexed interstices of race, sound, and technology."[32] These interstices – the place where race, sound, and technology meet – at the same time question the place of blackness within cybertheory. On the other hand there is a resemblance to George E. Lewis' focus on what sound can "tell us about the Afrofuture," where his focus is on what he describes as a "triad of blackness, sound, and technology."[33] Lewis' argument is

28   Evelyn McDonnell, "Erykah Badu," *Interview* (2000): http://www.interviewmagazine.com/music/erykah-badu-/
29   Eshun, *More Brilliant*, 80.
30   Weheliye, "Feenin'," 21.
31   Weheliye, "Feenin'," 25.
32   Weheliye, "Feenin'," 22.
33   George E. Lewis, "Foreword: After Afrofuturism," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 2/2 (2008), 139-153, 142.

an expansion of Dery's definition. Where Dery writes about "a prosthetically enhanced future," Lewis, following a distinction he takes from Doris Lessing, discusses the "prosthetic" and the "incarnative," thus opening up for other relations between technology and the body.[34]

The vocoder is a part of this triad in a particular sense, given that the technologization of the voice, even when done with analog technology, contributes a different take on "the human." In Eshun's reading there is a connection between the subhuman status of the slave and the posthuman status in the now or the near future, and these are both related, in a sense, to the notion of soul. As slaves, African Americans were excluded from the category of the human and the time since the end of slavery until the end of the Civil Rights Movement might be understood as a continuous fight to be included in this category. With the Civil Rights Act of 1964, one could argue that this was achieved, although later history is more than open to questioning this. In Eshun's reading of Sun Ra it seems that leaving the idea of the human behind is the solution and, following Sun Ra's example, going to outer space to colonize a planet for black folks, as found in the opening to the movie *Space is the Place* (1974) where music is used as a means of transport to outer space and the colonization of a planet. For Eshun, Sun Ra is the opposite of soul, and his argument is based on the Southern gospel tradition, where both soul and the Civil Rights project is understood to be based in Christianity. This, he argues, Sun Ra breaks with. In a section titled "The Posthuman," he writes:

> Soul affirms the Human. Ra is disgusted with the Human. He desires the alien, by emphasizing Egypt over Israel, the alien over human, the future over the past. In his MythScience systems, Ancient Africans are alien Gods from a despotic future. Sun Ra is the End of Soul, the replacement of God by a Pharaonic Pantheon.[35]

While Badu's music and aesthetic is different than Sun Ra's there are arguably some similarities between what she calls "Baduizm" and Ra's "MythScience." In David's reading, "Baduizm" is Badu's personal philosophy, "in which she revitalizes essentialized African ideology through a syncretic blend of Motherland symbolism, Nation of Islam and Five Percent theology, ancient Egyptian esoterica, and southern black American folk traditions," thus having in common with Sun Ra both a focus upon Africa and a different spirituality or religion than the Christianity of the gospel tradition.[36] While these differences are more obvious in the lyrics and visual dimensions of Badu's oeuvre, there is also the possibility of hearing her negotiation with different kinds of subjectivities in her voice.

As both Weheliye and Eshun make clear, the vocoderized voice is the most obvious take on a posthuman voice within contemporary popular music, and the vocoder be-

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34 In another article, about Pamela Z, he writes: "Z's strategic placement of BodySynth electrodes – eight small sensors that can be positioned practically anywhere on the body – moves past the prosthetic readings envisioned by the technology's creators towards the dynamics of the incarnative, the embodied, the integrative." George E. Lewis, "The Virtual Discourse of Pamela Z," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 1/1 (2007), 57-77, 59.

35 Eshun, *More Brilliant*, 155.

36 David, "Afrofuturism and Post-Soul Possibilities," 703.

gins a tradition leading up to the use of auto-tune within the 21st century, where the sound of the voice is explicitly technologized. That auto-tune also could be used in a hidden sense, that is as pitch-correction but where the point is that the technology should not be heard as such, does not take away the fact that already from Cher's "Believe" (1998) a focus upon technologized sound is found. When dealing with the vocoder it is different, as the technology, by necessity, points toward its own sound. This use of technology, however, seems to be more a way of illustrating the robotic rather than an enhanced human. Autotune, on the other hand, has a certain invasive dimension to it, altering the voice differently, and also changing the carrier of the voice (that is, the singer). Arguably the same could be said for the vocoder, but there are degrees, and the result is about the levels of enhancement versus incarnative, to use George Lewis's conceptual differentiation. What I called invasive above is a version of the incarnative, where the technology is not added onto the body, but where the intimacy with the body is of a different degree, where the body is changed radically, and not only with a prosthesis. The singing voice within popular music is obviously always technologically mediated, at least since the introduction of the microphone. The naturalization of this mediatized voice is a part of the contract between singer and listener, where even a so-called acoustic live-event employs electronic technology. The technology, that is to say, is only supposed to help the singer with volume, for example, not to help the singer's voice in any distinctive sense. Even a limited use of technology related to the voice thus opens up negotiations of subjectivity, where a purer voice is often understood as human and the distorted voice as non-human or less human.

Telephones

But there is another technology used in much of the R&B Weheliye discusses where the voice distortion feels more like an everyday event: the use of telephones, in particular cell phones. Introducing the cell phone into the discussion, Weheliye explicitly criticizes the focus upon cyberspace in the discourse of the posthuman. Instead he discusses communication related to the history of analog media, such as the phonograph, the telephone, and the radio. In these older technologies, voices are heard as disembodied, but not necessarily as posthuman. The historical change introduced with the cell phone does not take away the historicity of the phone and the experience of it as an everyday technology. Weheliye's argument about the enormous presence of the cell phone in R&B, "both as voice distorting mechanism and as part of the sonic tapestry" and as "textual topic," leads him to propose a "cell phone effect":

> The "cell phone effect" marks the performers' recorded voices as technologically embodied. Instead of trying to downplay the technological mediation of the recording, the cell phone effect does away with any notion of the selfsame presence of the voice, imbuing, as Simon Reynolds points out, the production of the voice in contemporary R&B with a strong sense of "anti-naturalism."[37]

37   Weheliye, "Feenin'," 34.

To phrase it somewhat differently, hearing the telephonic voice is part of a sonic fiction where the singer underlines the fact that she is singing thereby highlighting the voice. The so-called natural or pure voice risks this dimension being too vaguely communicated, as if singing simply is a natural form of communication and as if the voice is the direct sound of the subject. By distorting the voice, ever so slightly, the act of singing, the act of vocal production, is communicated along with both the sounds and the words being communicated. And, perhaps somewhat paradoxically, this also enables listening to the body from where the voice emerges, since the technological voice implies another kind of body. The analog girl in a digital world might point to this too, but arguably with a focus upon a voice understood as analog within digital surroundings.

When it comes to musical production, Badu's presence is primarily staged by way of an interaction with computer-based music, where the voice becomes the human or analog presence in a machine-line or digital context. On some tracks, however, her voice changes radically, thus opening up for another way of reading the voice. And this is nowhere as clear as when comparing her different takes on the telephone. What stands out is the song "Telephone" from *New Amerykah Part One (4th World War)* and her recent mixtape *But You Caint Use My Phone* (from 2015). *New Amerykah Part One* has a certain 1970s feel to it, but "Telephone" also references J Dilla's 2006 album *Donuts* and even opens with what sounds like sirens, a sample from Mantronix's "King of the Beats" (from 1988). Thus, what David refers to as "bleeps and glitches reminiscent of any sci-fi film" is combined with a voice sounding intimate. The telephone effect here is not in the voice distortion, but in the lyrics, but there is a longing in the text, and the telephone seems to stand for the impossibility of communication rather than as a means to enable it.

With *But You Caint Use My Phone*, on the other hand, all kinds of voice distortions are used, both related to Badu's own voice and her guest rappers/singers. The album's title is taken from the lyrics to Badu's "Tyrone" which ends "But ya' can't use my phone." "Tyrone" was recorded on Badu's *Live* from 1997, the same year as the release of *Baduizm*. Quoting this earlier song, she thus points back to the very beginning of her career. This is also of interest for the very medium of the mixtape. Referencing other tracks opens up negotiations of history, in a generalized sense, similar to remixes and copying. At the same time, it is of interest in relation to the topic, in this case the telephone. Pointing back to the telephone being present already in one of her 1997 songs, the topic of *But You Caint Use My Phone* is timely while simultaneously referencing the past. The telephone is not only a topic, however, it is also a sound, or rather several sounds. Hearing the sounds of ringing, of the phone being occupied, of answering machines, there are the technological sounds as such. But there is also the possibility of recording the voice through the telephone (or as if through a telephone), leading to a certain distortion. The telephone is also a relational technology, as is clear in "Tyrone" where some kind of conflict is to be solved by making a call. On *But You Caint Use My Phone*, on the other hand, there are, in the lyrics, several very different references to the uses of the phone. From before calling "You can call her, but you can't use my phone" ("Caint Use My Phone") to the act of calling "Hello, hello, hey, hello, hello" ("Hi"), to

"something wrong with my line" ("Mr. Telephone Man"), to the absence of the phone "I can make you put your phone down" ("Phone Down"), to "you used to call me" ("Cel U Lar Device"), as if something has come to an end. There are also some texts expanding on the topic, first on "Cel U Lar Device" where an answering machine tells that we have reached "the Erykah Badu hotline" giving different options: "If you're calling for Erykah, press 1. If you're calling to wish her a happy birthday, Kwanzaa, MLK, Black History Month, Juneteenth, or Hanukkah, press 2," and so on. It is joking and serious, it is fun and references the life of a musician, it illustrates a telephonic practice, and it points to black lives. As such, she demonstrates the potential for expanding from the telephone as an everyday technology to it signaling interpersonal relationships, interactions between humans and technology, and so much more.

"Cel U Lar Device" is also Badu's answer to Drake's "Hotline Bling" (2015) and the answer should here be taken also in the telephonic sense of the word. It is, of course, also a remix, and the answering-machine dimension mentioned above is inserted into the song, contributing more than a little difference, but underlining the theme of the telephone. It also distorts the voice, making it a telephone voice, here, in the extreme sense, that it sounds like it is a machine speaking. As an answering machine (or voice-mail) it also opens another temporal layer, a sound from the past, potentially ghostly, and in principle closer to the gramophone than the telephone in its relation to the voice.[38] As such, the song opens up to an understanding of the voice within a continuum moving from a speaking machine via a telephone call to the "acoustic" – pure or clean – singing voice. Understanding this as a continuum rather than as distinct boxes, however, also allows for a gradual understanding of the relation between the human and the posthuman. Perhaps posthumanity is not to be seen as a totally new entity, but as a continuation of the human, where different forms of intersection between the body and technology equals the gradually machine-like dimension of the voice. On the other hand, a speaking machine could also be seen as a totally new entity, as humans making machines in their own image and adding elements previously understood as primarily human – here not least the voice, speech, and singing. The telephone decreases distance. Speaking on the telephone, the other is brought near, in principle so near that the technology short-circuits the distance between the mouth and the ear. In principle we can whisper to the other no matter how far away s/he might be. In that sense there is an intimacy, or even eroticism, inherent in the telephonic technology. Here then, embodiment and disembodiment come in contact, both between the singer and us as listeners, and within the narrative of the mixtape as such. In this, the voice functions as a marker, not necessarily of subjectivity, but for a vocal negotiation of a number of subjectivities.

The telephone thus comes to stand for a site of negotiation, by underlining vocality in different forms. The distortion of the direct voice, pointing to the voice as mediated,

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38   Cf. Steven Connor: "The Machine in the Ghost: Spiritualism, Technology and the 'Direct Voice'," *Ghosts: Deconstruction, Psychoanalysis, History* edited by Peter Buse & Andrew Stott (London: Macmillan, 1999), 203-225 and Steven Connor, *Dumbstruck: A Cultural History of Ventriloquism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

opens questions to how subjectivity is mediated. Badu may not go all cyborg, but in pointing out the analog girl in the digital world, the different dimensions partaking in the negotiation of subjectivity come to the fore and, as such, both the relation between culture, technology, and things to come, as well as the question of the human, are put forward. There is no easy answer, but, instead, an insistence on an agency where the telephone stands out as the carrier of voices and thus where the merging of human and technology is a kind of future.

Abstract

Early in her career, Erykah Badu sang about an "analog girl in a digital world," a possible self-description. This article interprets this phrase in relation to theories about digitalization and cyberspace in relation to the growing discourse on afrofuturism. A particular focus is on the voice, and the relation between the voice and subjectivity, a pertinent question related to African American music. With Badu's use of and reference to the telephone, the interrelation between vocality and technology shows a continuous negotiation of subjectivity.

ERIK WALLRUP

From Mood to Tone: On Schoenberg and Musical Worlds

1. The Musical World

The concept of 'world' is certainly not foreign to musical discourse. We find it not only in analytical investigations of complex musical works, such as those composed in cyclical form, but also in less demanding contexts, such as the conversation during a concert interval, when an enthusiastic listener tries in vain to find the right words to describe his or her experience ('it was like being in another world'). E.T.A. Hoffmann famously wrote that music "schließt dem Menschen ein unbekanntes Reich auf; eine Welt, die nichts gemein hat mit der äußern Sinnenwelt, die ihn umgibt".[1] Again, a more mundane usage of the word can be found in one of the standard genres of books on music, namely those volumes that cover both the composer and his world.

We can already discern three different kinds of worlds. Firstly, the world constructed by a composer and unveiled by analysis. Secondly, the world experienced when someone is immersed in a musical event. Thirdly, the world in which the listener, the musician and the composer co-exist, that is, the aesthetic, social, economic, religious and political context. Common sense would have it that these three worlds may be related to each other, but that the meaning of 'world' varies in each case. A common-sense attitude would certainly welcome the understanding of each world in relation to the others. A more radical conception, however, where all three are held to be one and the same world, might be harder to accept. Yet, this is my point of departure in the following elucidation of Schoenberg's musical worlds.

My assumption is that a musical work installs a world, that it 'worlds'; moreover, that any musical world throughout the process of historical change becomes 'unworlded' (being decomposed) and, under specific circumstances, even 'reworlded' (reappearing after having been decomposed).[2] The terms chosen may sound awkward, but they are apt for investigating music's interrelation with that which is usually termed extra-musical meanings or elements (it may even be impossible to tear the

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1   E.T.A. Hoffmann, [review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, without title], *Schriften zur Musik. Aufsätze und Rezensionen* (München: Winkler, 1977), 34.
2   The notion of 'worlding' comes, of course, from Martin Heidegger's "Der Ursprung des Kunstwerkes", where the philosopher also claimed that the world disappears with the passage of time. However, the 'reworlding' suggested by me is set up against Heidegger's understanding of historical change. Cf. Martin Heidegger, "Der Ursprung des Kunstwerkes", in *Holzwege* (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1977).

musical and the extra-musical apart). For a moment, let us dwell within the parlance of musicology and the philosophy of music, in order to see if prospects are good for an elaboration of such an extended world concept.

There have previously been steps taken in the direction indicated here. We can find the term *Welt*, that is, 'world', for instance in Hermann Danuser's *Weltanschauungmusik* (2009), but even if he demonstrates the intricate relationship between autonomy and heteronomy within works that express some kind of world-view, he evades philosophically far-reaching attempts to understand what 'world' actually stands for.[3] Albrecht Wellmer's scattered remarks in *Versuch über Musik und Sprache* (2009) on the relationship between the musical work and the world outside are a noteworthy contribution to our field.[4] He primarily deals with two tendencies in the later developments of New Music: the first placed in accord with the linguistic traits of music, whilst the second departs in a direction where any parallel to language, or anything at all outside of music, is to be dismissed. What Wellmer illustrates is that not only the first tendency can be fruitful in our understanding of the world (actually, that tendency tends to preserve already existing structures and ways of relating to the world), but also the second one, due to its ability to break with the *status quo* and afford us with new ways of understanding.

Concerning Schoenberg and 'world', we are in the fortunate position of having a small number of articles by John Covach, who not only tries to introduce the concept of 'world' in relation to Martin Heidegger and Hans-Georg Gadamer, making this concept productive for musicology, but also deals with musical worlding in Schoenberg during the phase that I intend to discuss, namely his breaking with tonality around 1908. At the same time, I myself am in the fortunate position of discovering that Covach has only taken the first steps, since he curtails his argument due to his restrictions concerning what a *musical* world is. In short, Covach suggests that one way for a piece of music to be meaningful is in its relations to canonical works belonging to the same musical tradition (such as tonal music from Bach to Mahler).[5] This includes both aesthetic experience and musical analysis: "every analysis or experience of a certain work invokes the other works in the canon".[6] What happens then, when Schoenberg leaves the canon of tonal works in order to investigate the new world of 'atonality'? The atonal work breaks with the rules governing the tonal tradition, it resides outside that world in what Covach describes as "an 'other' musical world".[7] However, it still relies on the tonal world in order to achieve its effect.

3   Hermann Danuser, *Weltanschauungsmusik* (Schlingen: Argus, 2009).
4   Albrecht Wellmer, *Versuch über Musik und Sprache* (Munich: Hanser, 2009).
5   The articles where Covach discusses the musical world are "Musical Worlding: Heidegger's Fundamental Ontology and the Understanding of Music", *Methods* (1994), 49–58; "Destructuring Cartesian Dualism in Musical Analysis", *Music Theory Online* 0:11 (1994), http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.94.0.11/mto.94.0.11.covach.html; "Musical Worlds and the Metaphysics of Analysis", *Music Theory Online* 1:1 (1995), http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.95.1.1/mto.95.1.1.covach.html; "Schoenberg's Turn to an 'Other' World", *Music Theory Online*, 1:5 (1995), http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.95.1.5/mto.95.1.5.covach.html.
6   Covach, "Schoenberg's Turn", §3.
7   Covach, "Schoenberg's Turn", §4.

I shall return to Covach's analyses of specific works by Schoenberg later on, analyses that are both illuminating and precise. Nevertheless, I must point out the limitations of Covach's world concept. He defines it in the following terms, choosing a strictly musical range of meaning: "The musical world of a piece is a number of other works that form a kind of background – a body of other pieces that create a purely musical context for some particular piece."[8] Even if Covach breaks with the analytical scheme, which implements a dualistic relation between interpreting subject and interpreted object, he keeps to the scheme that separates a (strictly) musical world from the (strictly non-musical) surrounding world. Furthermore, he takes his point of departure from the fundamental ontology of Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit*, where world is indeed central to the analysis of "being-in-the-world", whereas he neglects Heidegger's later world concept of "Der Ursprung des Kunstwerkes". There, world is said to be "das immer Ungegenständliche, dem wir unterstehen, solange die Bahnen von Geburt und Tod, Segen und Fluch uns in das Sein entrückt halten"; the world worlds where "die wesenhaften Entscheidungen unserer Geschichte fallen".[9] So, according to Heidegger, the world is not an object. Essential historical decisions may take place there. It concerns the work of art, but also our lives too.

2. 'Atonality' as the crux

We thus have exciting problems, not only concerning the concept of world; much can also be said about the term 'atonal'. Covach writes the word without quotation marks, but it has been debated ever since it entered usage in the early twentieth century – disputed by Schoenberg himself, who preferred the terms 'pantonal' or 'polytonal' for his 'atonal' music. Perhaps the most well-articulated recent critique has been formulated by Ethan Haimo, who wants to dispense with the distinction between 'tonal' and 'atonal' since he finds that it blurs and distorts the complexity of both individual works and the development of Schoenberg's compositional techniques during the period: "From approximately 1899 to July 1909", he writes, "one must understand the pitch-language of Schoenberg's works as comprising an on-going extension and transformation of prior techniques, not a renunciation of them."[10] Here Schoenberg is the progressive, the evolutionary; he is not the radical or revolutionary. During these years, from work to work, Schoenberg is understood to proceed step by step. He introduces new kinds of chords and refines contrapuntal principles, he turns chamber music into programme music and disturbs the genre with banal songs from the street. He elaborates his motivic material to its extreme and moves in a direction where tonally defining procedures are of less and less importance. Still, Schoenberg is supposed to stay within one and the same evolutionary development; the radical break comes with *Erwartung*.

The standard conception of the changes within Schoenberg's musical aesthetics is a curve of progression, commencing in late-Romanticism, followed by the atonal pe-

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8   Covach, "Schoenberg's Turn", §8.
9   Heidegger, "Der Ursprung des Kunstwerkes", 34–35.
10   Ethan Haimo, *Schoenberg's Transformation of Musical Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 19.

riod and ending with dodecaphony. We find this in Bryan R. Simms's *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg 1908–1923*,[11] where exactly those works that Haimo tries to tie as close as possible to the evolutionary aspects of Schoenberg's compositional technique are scrutinized in order to find revolutionary traits. Malcolm McDonald, in his Schoenberg biography, places the same emphasis on the year 1908, calling the period 1908–13 a *peripeteia*.[12] This is totally in line with Theodor W. Adorno's description of the George songs in the cycle *Das Buch der hängenden Gärten*, as not only deeply rooted in tradition, but also as a part of the avant-garde.[13] Sociologically, according to Albrecht Dümling, this meant that Schoenberg chose a solitary position with the George cycle.[14] In a more recent Schoenberg study, Walter Frisch traces this line in a different way dealing with that which he calls the "tonal composition" during this period; here a key-work, such as the Second String Quartet, belongs to Schoenberg's 'early' phase.[15]

These overlapping schedules, all these attempts to pinpoint the exact turn, may be very instructive for an organization of history, but are in vain when we want to understand the historical process that has taken place. I shall treat this turn in another way, seeing it not as a specific point in time, but as a protracted *attunemental* turn.[16] During this period, Schoenberg went through a transformation, having been one of the most outstanding moderns and becoming someone who belonged to another sphere of communication. This means not only that his music changed radically from a compositional point of view, but also that this change leads to works where the musical works 'worlded' in a new way – or in new ways. His musical world diverged from the world of others (even among his students, the change was met with incomprehension – Anton Webern and Alban Berg were, of course, exceptions). Furthermore, and of greatest importance, the new world started to world long before it was finally established, whereas the old world faded away in a slow process of unworlding.

How can we understand this conflict of worlds from our perspective today? In what follows, I will elucidate how the world of the last movement of the Second String Quartet and that of the *Gurre-Lieder* differ, and a main point is here a change in Schoenberg's relation to the text: he started to listen to the poetic word as tone, whereas he earlier treated the poem as a producer of moods. In order to give this difference a historically cogent foundation, I shall lend an ear to what the first listeners of the works had to say. Instead of presuming that, in those days, the ordinary listener in Vienna was conservative, and instead of scoffing at the musical criticism of the time (once again), I propose that we should give full attention to exactly their articulation

11   Bryan R. Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg 1908–1923* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000).
12   Cf. Malcolm MacDonald, *Schoenberg* (London: Dent, 1976), 1.
13   Theodor W. Adorno, "Zu den Georgeliedern", in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 18 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998), 412–13.
14   Cf. Albrecht Dümling, *Die fremden Klänge der hängenden Gärten. Die öffentliche Einsamkeit der neuen Musik am Bespiel von Arnold Schönberg und Stefan George* (Munich: Kindler, 1981).
15   Walter Frisch, *The Early Works of Arnold Schoenberg 1893–1908* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1993), 247.
16   For this concept, see the author's *Being Musically Attuned: The Act of Listening to Music* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015). An 'attunemental turn' here means a fundamental change in the way in which a world is disclosed.

of attunemental differences between musical worlds. It is the most precise formulation of what happened, regarding both what was heard and what was not heard.

3. The 'Mood-Critics' as Testimonies

The premiere on 21st December 1908 of Schoenberg's Second String Quartet in F-sharp minor op. 10 by the Rosé Quartet was a culmination of public antagonism directed against Arnold Schoenberg, both in the Viennese press and at the actual concerts. Together with the famous *Skandalkonzert* 31 March 1913 – when Schoenberg and his students Webern and Berg were attacked – it is the circumstances around Schoenberg's second quartet that have attracted attention when posterity has looked back in order to understand the birth of modernism in Vienna. However, the premieres of the First Chamber Symphony and the First String Quartet on 5th and 8th February 1907 respectively can also be counted amongst the scandals. During all these concerts, sections of the audience hissed and shouted, trying to stop the performances. Once, even, the police were called, due to scuffles and scrimmages. These concerts can be seen as the major transformation of the musical scene, when modern music (*die Moderne*) was divided into modernism (or New Music, *Neue Musik*) and neoclassicism.[17]

Such an understanding is opposed to the reasoning in those scholarly works where continuity is emphasised – and without doubt, many formulations in Schoenberg's own writings offer support to the continuity thesis. However, the composer also expresses his conviction that the transition came with the Second String Quartet, whereas the major step into the new field was taken with the Two Songs op. 14, the George cycle op. 15 and the Three Piano Pieces op. 11.[18] What interests me here is the affective response from the listeners, since it is testimony to an upheaval in musical sensibilities or, described in other terms, a testimony to one of those events when we have to deal with a fundamental attunemental change within a cultural sphere. The musical world started behaving in a new way, with the audience and music critics being struck by something unknown to them. That means, too, that if we want a better understanding of this change, we should approach the derided critics of Vienna, the object of ridicule, again and again, in the historiography of 20th century art music.

We must then ask ourselves what kind of critics these reviewers were. It does not suffice to say that they were conservative or reactionary. Schoenberg himself gives us the key in some of his commentary to these events: the reviewers were *Stimmungskritiker*, 'mood-critics'. He writes that this kind of critic was born when Wagner's music was rejected by guild musicians, whilst being saluted by the laymen, since the latter heard a poetic meaning in a music that did not follow the laws of the old works: "They acquired the faculty of letting the poetic mood work on them; they found it

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17   As Carl Dahlhaus suggests in *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in vol. 5 of *Gesammelte Schriften* (Wiesbaden: Laaber, 2003), 380.
18   Arnold Schoenberg, "My Evolution" (1949), in *Style and Idea: Selected Writings* (Berkeley, Calif: California UP, 1984), 86. Since *Style and Idea* was first published in English (even if many of the texts were translated), I choose to quote from that book, sometimes highlighting the original German expressions.

possible to ignore artifice and submit to those elemental impressions released by mu-sic, the language of the unconscious."[19] These laymen made their way into music criti-cism, where they for a while were suited to their mission, but then the reaction against Wagnerism came with absolute music: "mood no longer did the trick, knowledge had to lend a hand".[20] One could expect that Schoenberg would draw the conclusion that only technical knowledge would do but we should not forget that, to Schoenberg, mu-sic depended on both heart and brain. No, instead he writes that a proper response only takes place "if one has available receiving apparatus tuned in the same way as the transmitting apparatus".[21] Here we must observe how the English translation of the text replaces the sensitivity of mood, with an apparatus in tune with another appara-tus, whereas the original German expression ("dem Absendeapparat gleichgestimmten Empfangsapparat"[22]) still has an active relation to *Stimmung*, mood.

The musicologist Esteban Buch has already discussed some of the elements at play here, trying to "reconstituer l'espace des perceptions" of exactly the same period and place.[23] He, like myself, is totally aware of the enormous obstacles to the fulfilment of such an aspiration. It calls for the re-creation of a whole scene of musical listening, such as James H. Johnson's cultural archaeology of Paris in the decades around 1800.[24] However, the review material from the chosen concert is so rich that the thrust or trem-or can be discerned. The reason that the collision between two different worlds took place is not only that Schoenberg happened to write a specific work of art, but also that the emerging avant-garde was placed at the centre of Vienna's musical scene. The concert took place, in fact, in the prestigious Bösendorfer Saal in the Musikverein.[25]

Inherent to the presumption that a collision between two different musical worlds happened, is the fact that the situation includes an element of alienness, which is an affective phenomenon, grounded in a lack of understanding.[26] There are cognitive rea-sons for this phenomenon, a lack of cognition leading to a lack of recognition, but the phenomenon is affective and, in itself, grounded in distunement (instead of the ex-pected attunement – remember Schoenberg's words about a receiver apparatus being in tune with the transmitter).[27]

When approaching the articles regarding the concert on 21st December 1908, we soon realise that most of the published texts are not proper reviews. Even music critics who were well-known in those days, such as Ludwig Karpath, Richard Batka and Max

19   Arnold Schoenberg, "About Music Criticism", in *Style and Idea*, 192.
20   Schoenberg, "Music Criticism", 194.
21   Schoenberg, "Music Criticism", 195.
22   Cf. Arnold Schönberg, "Über Musikkritik", in *Stil und Gedanke: Aufsätze zur Musik, Gesammelte Schrif-ten*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1976), 163.
23   Cf. Esteban Buch, *Le cas Schönberg: Naissance de l'avant-garde musicale* (Paris: Gallimard, 2006), 42.
24   James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
25   Cf. Martin Eybl, ed., *Die Befreiung des Augenblicks: Schönbergs Skandalkonzerte 1907 und 1908: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2004), 22.
26   Cf. Bernhard Waldenfels, *Grundmotive einer Phänomenologie des Fremden* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2006).
27   For a more detailed discussion regarding the affectivity of the alien and distunement, see my *Being Musically Attuned*, 215–20.

Kalbeck, acted more like journalists when they described the chaotic and aggressive events of the concert. Acclamation from the Schoenberg circle was contrasted to loud hissing, already after the first movement. Between the third and the fourth movement, both featuring soprano singing, someone cried out: "Nicht weitersingen! Schluß! Wir haben genug! Wir lassen uns nicht frozzeln!"[28] One of the reviewers thought that the only instrument missing was someone to tread on a dog's tail.[29] Even American readers were able, soon afterwards, to find out that "the audience was in an uproar such as no concert hall in the Austrian capital ever before had known".[30] The descriptions, or non-descriptions, of the music are of great interest. The music was said to be "cat music", worthless, totally without harmonies, pathological. Richard Kralik wrote about "die prinzipielle Vermeidung von Harmonie und Melodie".[31] One of the most common objections, here in the phrasing of Brahms's well-known biographer Max Kalbeck, was that the quartet was "angeblich" in F-sharp Minor, that is, he could not find any key at all.[32] The same unknown author, who ironically asked for someone to tread on a dog's tail, was more detailed in his description: "Er [Schoenberg] stellt sich also die Aufgabe, so zu komponieren, daß weder aus dem Zusammenklang der Instrumente, noch aus der Tonfolge je ein Genuß für das normale Ohr hervorgeht, und er löst diese Aufgabe mit solcher Konsequenz, daß auch jedes zufällige Tonintervall vermieden ist, das für eine Sekunde dem gewöhnlichen Menschen erträglich wäre."[33]

Unlike today, when music critics usually have the possibility of studying PDFs of the scores to be premiered (at least, this is what they should do), many of those who reviewed the concert did not have a fair chance to prepare themselves. There were, however, exceptions. One anonymous author explained: "Ein Blick in die Partitur belehrt den, der zu lesen versteht, daß von einem Ulk keine Rede ist, daß jede Note mit äußerster Sorgfalt und er mit präziser Absicht so und nicht anders hingesetzt will."[34] Another was Elsa Bienenfeld, a musicologist supervised by Guido Adler for her doctoral thesis, and one of only two active female critics in Vienna at that time. She told her readers about the dramatic concert in a short article published anonymously in *Neuer Wiener Journal* the day after the premiere, but she returned to the topic three days later, now with a signed article. Saying that the chaotic concert had prevented the listeners from obtaining a fair impression of the work, she stressed that those who knew the score were also convinced that the four movements were "mit der größten Sauberkeit, der größten Beherrschung der Technik geschrieben, daß die musikalische Formen hier, wohl nicht in einer schablonenhaften Weise, aber mit strengster Logik durchgebildet sind".[35]

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28 Probably written anonymously by Paul Stauber, *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 22 Dec., 1908, in *Die Befreiung*, 180.
29 Unknown author and publication, in *Die Befreiung*, 204.
30 "J.L.H.", *Musical America*, 9:12, 30 Jan., 1909, 21, in *Die Befreiung*, 236.
31 Richard Kralik, *Vaterland*, 49, 30 Dec., 1908, in *Die Befreiung*, 202.
32 Max Kalbeck, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, vol. 42, 24 Dec., 1908, in *Die Befreiung*, 195.
33 Unknown author, date and periodical, in *Die Befreiung*, 204.
34 Anonymous, *Montags-Revue*, in *Die Befreiung*, 200.
35 Elsa Bienenfeld, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 16, 25 Dec., 1908, in *Die Befreiung*, 198–9.

The conditions would change for those interested in the musical scene of Vienna, due to the publication of a detailed analysis in the periodical *Erdgeist*, on 20th February, possibly written by Heinrich Jalowetz and Schoenberg's mentor Alexander von Zemlinsky. Here, the analyses demonstrate with the utmost care that the composer had been working totally in accordance with traditional principles, in terms of thematic elaborations and within conventional forms: sonata form in the first movement, followed by a movement close to the standard scherzo, whereas the slow movement presented a theme with variations, and the finale was described in terms of a free sonata form.[36]

The string quartet was performed again five days later, but now at a concert arranged by the Verein für Musik und Kunst in the more intimate Ehrbar Saal. It was combined with the string sextet *Verklärte Nacht*, an important work in the repertoire of the Rosé Quartet (adding two musicians). Exactly this combination was the point of departure for comparisons between the late-Romantic Schoenberg and the composer of the scandal quartet, leading to acclaim for the sextet and more or less devastating formulations about the quartet. No critic was able to hear the continuity between the works. Richard Batka referred to the musicians from the Schoenberg circle who were supposed to have admitted that "vieles in Schönbergs Kompositionen häßlich und abscheulich klingt, aber sie hegen die Zuversicht, daß es ihnen oder der nächsten Generation noch als schön oder erhaben einleuchten würde".[37] Instead of continuity, Batka found that at least one movement, the finale, was agreeable to him, coming close to *Verklärte Nacht* (i.e., it was supposed to turn back to already known qualities): "hier meldet sich eine große, weite Stimmung und selbst der irre Ausklang in schmerzliche Dissonanzen wirkt psychologisch motiviert".[38] Whether the critic from *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, Carl Lafite, had read the analysis in *Erdgeist*, or actually studied the score is impossible to say, but his opinion says a lot about how something that is logical to the eye, might sound another way to the ear: "Wie viel von dem, was auf dem Papier geistreich und überraschend aussieht, ist nichts als häßlich, klingt miserabel und läßt sich mit dem besten Willen keine Stimmung unterschieben, als höchstens die einer schweren, aber schon sehr schweren Magenindigestion."[39]

In these articles, we find expressions of a confrontation between musical worlds. Some of the reviewers were able to reflect upon their inability to make sense of the music. Others, who had read the score, saw the musical logic at work, but were unable to understand the sounding work of art. All of them, however, gave testimony to an affective shock, a heavy distortion of their musical world – and a disturbance of their musical minds.

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36   Probably Heinrich Jalowetz and Alexander Zemlinsky, *Erdgeist*, 4:7, 20 Feb., 1909, in *Die Befreiung*, 243–53.
37   Richard Batka, *Fremden-Blatt*, 63, 7 Jan., 1909, in *Die Befreiung*, 272.
38   Ibid., 274
39   Carl Lafite, *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 2 Mar., 1909, in *Die Befreiung*, 280.

4. Text as Tone

During the period when Schoenberg took his first step into a new musical reign, his works were not instrumental music, but all of them – the Second String Quartet, too – included texts. Furthermore, they were almost exclusively written by the German poet Stefan George. We know very well from the composer himself, that text had been important to him when he solved the problem of how to compose more extended works when reference to the tonic and harmony's structural organization were gone: "Hence, it seemed at first impossible to compose pieces of complicated organization or of great length", Schoenberg writes in a text on compositional technique, only to continue: "A little later I discovered how to construct larger forms by following a text or a poem."[40] Here, he probably referred to *Erwartung*, with its duration of approximately 30 minutes but, already in the works with texts by George, language had a new kind of organizing force.

In the article "The Relationship to the Text", Schoenberg famously says that he had understood George's poems from "their sound alone" (or, in the original German phrasing, "bloß aus dem Klang heraus").[41] Sometimes, it has been suggested that this formulation expresses an idea of the musicalization of language, where no element of meaning or reference is of any relevance. However, earlier in the same article, Schoenberg seems to be heading for something much closer to intuition:

> I had composed many of my songs straight to the end without troubling myself in the slightest about the continuation of the poetic events, without ever grasping them in the ecstasy of composing, and that only days later I thought of looking back to see just what was the real poetic content of my song. It turned out, to my greatest astonishment, that I had never done greater justice to the poet than when, guided by my first direct contact with the sound of the beginning, I divined everything that obviously had to follow this first sound with inevitability.[42]

Here, I believe, we cannot put all our trust in the notion of language as pure sound, but should rather move in the direction of language as tone, just as Schoenberg himself did in his correspondence with another poet, Richard Dehmel, who had been the major contributor of texts in an earlier stage of Schoenberg's songs. In a letter to the poet, where a co-operation is proposed, Schoenberg writes:

> Denn Ihre Gedichte haben auf meine musikalische Entwicklung entscheidenden Einfluß ausgeübt. Durch sie war ich zum erstenmal genötigt, einen neuen Ton in der Lyrik zu suchen. Das heißt, ich fand ihn ungesucht, indem ich musikalisch wiederspiegelte, was Ihre Verse in mir aufwühlten.[43]

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40   Arnold Schoenberg, "Composition with Twelve Tones (1)" (1941), in *Style and Idea*, 217.
41   Arnold Schoenberg, "The Relationship to the Text", in *Style and Idea*, 144, and "Das Verhältnis zum Text", in *Stil und Gedanke*, 5.
42   Schoenberg, "The Relationship to the Text", 144.
43   Letter from Arnold Schoenberg to Richard Dehmel 13 Dec. 1912, published by Joachim Birke in "Richard Dehmel und Arnold Schönberg: Ein Briefwechsel", *Die Musikforschung*, 11:3 (1958), 282.

Again, Schoenberg declares that his approach to poetry has to do with something within the auditory sphere, this time not with the poem as sound, but as tone. His response to this tone is always articulated in his musical works. We do not, however, find any closer description of this tone (or sound). Nevertheless, in the case of Stefan George, there really is something like a tone that can be identified as belonging to exactly that poet. Hans-Georg Gadamer, who is otherwise often engaged with the wonders of meaning when reading poetry, returns to this tone again and again in his essays on George. He speaks about its "eigentümliche Erweckungskraft", attracting perhaps only a few "dichterisch empfänglichen Menschen".[44]

Even if Gadamer was never a part of the famous and influential 'George circle', he came to know one of its ideologically most important members, Friedrich Wolters. Furthermore, from Gadamer's descriptions of George's tone, we can also understand that he had been present during some of the famous readings, which took place when the circle met. Instead of lowering the tone in the end rhymes, Gadamer writes, George's voice kept the pitch, and gave the impression of forming arcs in the poem. It is not to be equalled with Hölderlin's architecture, and the philosopher explains why:

> Es ist vor allem die Wiederholungsform und die Steigerung in der Wiederholung, durch die seine Bogenführung zustande kommt, ein Sichüberlagern und ein Aufschwung bis zu einer höchsten Erhebung des dichterischen Tones. Wieder sind es die gleichen Mittel einer inneren Komposition des Lautgebildes, des Klangleibes der Worte, die hier verwendet werden. Aber dazu kommt die Kurzform Georgescher Sätze. Sie läßt die rhythmische Einheit zugleich Sinneinheit sein und macht dadurch Wiederholung und Steigerung auf einfache Weise möglich. Das ist in der deutschen Verskunst etwas Einzigartiges. Es ist die melodische Substanz des gregorianischen Chorals, der Georges "Ton" dichterisches Leben verliehen hat.[45]

Gadamer describes these traits as *Kunstmittel*, giving them an instrumental character. However, when, in another essay, he goes beyond instrumentality, he comes closer to a phenomenology of George's tone when he likens its impact with "eine Übertragung von Wille zu Wille".[46] The will takes hold of another will. One way of coming closer to this extremely vague and fugitive, yet powerful, aspect of a specific poetic language could be to listen to what one of George's closest friends has to say, the literary scholar Friedrich Gundolf. As a matter of fact, Gundolf, in his book on George, tries to capture the poet's tone, according to its "intonation".[47]

Again, we shall encounter that word 'world'. Already in his first published texts, Gundolf writes, there is a totally original language in George's poetry: rhythms strung

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44   Hans-Georg Gadamer, "Der Dichter Stefan George", in *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 9, 217.
45   Gadamer, "Der Dichter Stefan George", 222.
46   Hans-Georg Gadamer, "Hölderlin und George", in *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 9, 240.
47   Since emphasis is given here to the close personal relationship between George and Gundolf, it should be noted that Gundolf's book was a work of crises, a kind of reverence shown to the poet when Gundolf's position in the circle was put into question.

so hard that they could break, together with a formal mastery – but these still do not proclaim a world. This happens with a turn (with *Kairos*), which subordinates the tone (*Ton*). The tone cannot be explained scientifically, it can only be perceived. It involves nothing aesthetic: "Der Ton ist kein ästhetisches Zubehör, sondern das Zeichen des seelischen Raums, der Welt welcher sein Finder und Künder angehört, und die ihn von allen heutigen Autoren trennt. Innerhalb dieses Raums haben erst seine Bilder und Sätze ihr Gewicht. Man muß sie in ihrem Ton hören: mit dem Es dem sein Ich sich eingelassen hat, das in sein Ich eingebrochen ist."[48] Moreover, anticipating both the authoritarian and ritualistic characteristics of the George circle, Gundolf suggests that perception of the tone also means an inauguration:

> Die Wortwahl, die Zeichenwahl, sogar das Tempo, den größeren oder geringeren Nachdruck, alles Räumliche, Stoffliche und selbst Klangliche hat er weitreichend in der Gewalt die ihm überhaupt als einer Person zusteht, womit er "begabt" ist: aber mit aller Begabung kann er den Seelenton nicht finden der ihn "zum Dröhnen der heiligen Stimme" macht, und der ganz allein das Zeichen der Weihe, der Ein-weihung ist, des Durchbruchs auf eine Ebene jenseits der bloßen Personalität oder des Einbruchs überpersönlicher Welt, Zeichen der wirkenden Einswerdung mit dem Urwesen, man nenne es Natur oder Gott.[49]

When *Ton* (or *Klang*) is conceived of in this manner, it is easier to envision how Schoenberg could claim that it is enough to listen to the tone or sound at the beginning of the poem, and gain a better understanding, than could be arrived at through a close analysis of the same text. If I am correct, then it is not particularly meaningful to state that many traits of Schoenberg's compositions show that he really had read the text (of course he had – whatever he claimed). His was an intuitive understanding, which was enabled by a specific kind of text.[50]

Nonetheless, we should also pay close attention to the George quotation within the Gundolf quotation, where the tone appears to be the resounding or, without mediation, the roaring of the sacred voice ("zum Dröhnen der heiligen Stimme"). This not only happens to be an excerpt from the poem referred to by Gadamer, when discussing the influence of one will on another will, but also the text chosen by Schoenberg for the last movement of the Second String Quartet: George's "Entrückung".

5. The Sensing of a New World: "Entrückung"

Efforts have been made to figure out what Schoenberg meant by saying that he understood George's poems from "their sound alone", as well as what function the linguistic material actually had when he constructed "larger forms by following a text

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48   Friedrich Gundolf, *George* (Berlin: Bondi, 1920), 61.
49   Gundolf, op. cit., 60–1.
50   The Swedish essayist Horace Engdahl traces this poetic phenomenon back to early Romanticism. We find it in Friedrich Schlegel and in Novalis (both using *Ton*), whereas Hölderlin developed a poetics of tones. Cf. Horace Engdahl, *Beröringens ABC: En essä om rösten i litteraturen* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1994).

or a poem". In his investigation of the influence of the text on Schoenberg's music in *Das Buch der hängenden Gärten*, Karl Heinrich Ehrenforth finds no genuine impact on the musical form (Schoenberg may, however, as Ehrenforth writes, sometimes follow the structure of the poems).[51] In a close reading of the fourteenth song of the George cycle, Reinhold Brinkmann observes that Schoenberg deviates from George's formal tightness, but he finds a uniform tone in its "ruhigen Gestimmtheit aufgrund der Schönheit der 'Form' ".[52]

The texts chosen by Schoenberg demonstrate metrical rigor – one of the traits Gadamer stresses in his analysis of "George's tone". Nevertheless, we do not find many metrical schemes when we turn to Schoenberg's settings. Some commentators, whose point of departure is George's poetry, make no attempt to hide their indignation. Wolfgang Osthoff, for example, states that Schoenberg's actual music has released itself from, or even counteracts, the 'music' of the verse.[53] Calvin Scott who, in his intermedial investigation into the relation between George and the Second Vienna School, has invested a lot in the 'musical' qualities of George's poetry, laments the circumstance that there is no hint of liturgical declamation in Schoenberg's music.[54]

At this juncture, George's poetry should be allowed to speak for itself, and the following example is "Entrückung", with its emblematic rise into a new state, a new world:

Entrückung
Ich fühle luft von anderem planeten.
Mir blassen durch das dunkel die gesichter
Die freundlich eben noch sich zu mir drehten.

Und bäum und wege die ich liebte fahlen
Dass ich sie kaum mehr kenne und Du lichter
Geliebter schatten – rufer meiner qualen –

Bist nun erloschen ganz in tiefern gluten
Um nach dem taumel streitenden getobes
Mit einem frommen schauer anzumuten.

Ich löse mich in tönen · kreisend · webend ·
Ungründigen danks und unbenamten lobes
Dem grossen atem wunchlos mich ergebend.

51   Karl Heinrich Ehrenforth, *Ausdruck und Form: Arnold Schönbergs Durchbruch zu Atonalität* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1963), 34.
52   Reinhold Brinkmann, "Schönberg und George: Interpretation eines Liedes", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 26:1 (1969), 25.
53   Wolfgang Osthoff, *Stefan George und "Les Deux Musiques": Tönende und Vertonte Dichtung im Einklang und Widerstreit* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1989), 181.
54   Calvin Scott, "*Ich löse mich in tönen …": Zur Intermedialität bei Stefan George und der Zweiten Wiener Schule* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2007).

Mich überfährt ein ungestümes wehen
Im rausch der weihe wo inbrünstige schreie
In staub geworfner beterinnen flehen:

Dann seh ich wie sich duftige nebel lüpfen
In einer sonnerfüllten klaren freie
Die nur umfängt auf fernsten bergesschlüpfen.

Der boden schüttert weiss und weich wie molke . .
Ich steige über schluchten ungeheuer ·
Ich fühle wie ich über lezter wolke

In einem meer kristallnen glanzes schwimme –
Ich bin ein funke vom heiligen feuer
Ich bin ein dröhnen nur der heiligen stimme.[55]

We should establish immediately that George accommodates the *terza rima* – the verse form developed by Dante Alighieri, a poet translated and revered by George – for his own needs. The three-line stanzas are interlocked by a chain rhyme, which, in the example above, does not follow the strict pattern of ABA–BCB–CDC–DCD, but ABA–CBC–DED–FEF. It is an iambic pentameter, with five stresses and normally six unstressed syllables, observed with rigour, except in lines 11, 14 and the two concluding lines, where the deviation underscores the acuteness of a sudden tension ("inbrünstige schreie"), and the concluding outburst respectively. Even if this metrical scheme is hardly discernable in the musical composition (again there is an exception, namely the sixth stanza which concludes in strict triple meter), we can still guess that it meant something to Schoenberg. It was most probably a scheme that he could work against, a structure that he could dissolve. However, when Ehrenfort says that Schoenberg chose George's poetry because of his own need for boundaries to transgress,[56] this is only partly true: there is still George's tone – that unmistakable high tone, which cannot be reduced to a stern meter.

In another context, I have described how the world of a work of instrumental music can be approached in a way that allows the worlding world to *be* a world, without making it into an object (since then it would cease to be what it is).[57] This world always possesses temporality, spatiality, mobility and materiality; these are the dimensions of the world made present. We are entering into a pre-reflexive relation to the work, since reflection upon it would make it into an object for our thoughts. What

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55 Stefan George, "Entrückung", *Der Siebente Ring*, in: *Sämtliche Werke in 18 Bänden*, vol. 6–7 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1986), 111.

56 Ehrenforth, *Ausdruck und Form*, 47.

57 Wallrup, *Being Musically Attuned*, esp. chapter "Playing in Between", 111–42. There, the main goal is to fathom the phenomenon of attunement in music, but this is achieved through an approach to the work of art as a world.

happens when words are made present alongside music? Words have their temporality, spatiality, mobility and materiality, just like notes and other sounds. However, they also have a linguistic meaning, a meaning which is a part of the world: it can describe a world – in George's poem, a *new* world is predicted – simultaneously as the dimensions (such as the mobility and the materiality of the words, the way they move and their sound) make a world present.

In George's poem, all these dimensions can be discerned, and can also be sensed in a performance of the string quartet movement. There is, however, an essential difference between George's words by themselves, and the same words in the Schoenberg work: in the quartet, the words are part of a musical world, and their dimensions are constituted differently. One of these dimensions is salient: the way in which the work moves, its mobility. It concerns both words and music in a way that clarifies the fact that we cannot separate these elements from each other. Yet, this specific mobility is dependent on the lack of tonality in large segments of the composition; it is a mobility where gravitation has lost its power. Schoenberg's Second String Quartet places us at the threshold to atonality; a threshold that appears with the last two movements. They were composed in 1908, whereas the two previous ones were composed in 1907 (the second one was, however, completed only in 1908). When Schoenberg worked on the third and the fourth movement, he had already completed the two songs of op. 14, and almost half of the George cycle *Das Buch der hängenden Gärten* op. 15. In the George song op. 14:1, only once does there appear a triad in root position, namely the last B-minor chord. In the song cycle Schoenberg goes even further: in the words of Ethan Haimo, we find an "abandonment of the triad as agent of closure" and it leaves Schoenberg with a need for alternatives to the triad, which he finds by "returning to only slightly altered versions of prior material".[58]

In the Second String Quartet all movements end with a tonic, bringing closure to the music, after journeying into the fields of chromaticism and sheer atonality. However, whereas the two earlier movements can be said to point to the threshold, the two latter ones are placed on it. In the third movement, "Litanei", the E-flat minor chord appears at the end of each variation, but exerts little in the way of gravitation. In "Entrückung" gravitation emerges only in limited regions, with the 'tonic' F-sharp major chord. Most of the time, the tonic has vanished, or is shrewdly hidden – except for in the coda. When this gravity is gone, a world still worlds, but not according to the laws of tonality. The world is changed in a radical way, exactly in the way it was perceived by the Viennese audience of the first performance of the Second String Quartet.

Schoenberg has often been hailed for the introduction to the finale that gives a musical account of an escalation through the heavens, through a rising figure of demisemiquavers, where no tonal gravitation towards a stable point can be discerned. When the soprano starts to sing the words "Ich fühle luft von anderem planeten", they come as a verbalization of this kind of mobility. In this instance, being on the threshold means both that the music maintains a relationship to tonality (we do find ton-

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58   Haimo, *Schoenberg's Transformation*, 251.

al tendencies), and also faces atonality. Then again, as John Covach reminds us, we should not take the soprano at her words too easily: many a musicologist has been unable to resist the temptation of equating her prophecy with the definitive step into 'atonalism'.[59] However, it can without doubt be said to be one of the moves preceding the decisive step, and there is every reason for us to incorporate Covach's discussion of the relationship between the atonal sphere and the tonal field.

As we saw, Covach's main thesis is that, with Schoenberg's turn to atonality, the composer left the world of tonality but remained dependent on that same context in order to achieve the targeted effects of his new music, since the meaning of his works was produced by deviation or otherness. Covach finds an example of this negative relation in the second piece of the Six Small Piano Pieces op. 19, which is said to invoke the key of C "but disrupting our sense of tonality in a way that prevents it from being situated securely in any key".[60] Following a Schenkerian path, he suggests that the piece could be said to be a prolongation of scale-degree 5, ending with a descent to degree 1. The descent consists of G–F–E-flat–D-flat–C, and Covach describes it in terms of a minor-key descent, disturbed by the flattened second scale-degree. However, since it does not follow the laws of tonal music, a tension appears. In this deviation from the law, the piece is negatively attached to that same law – and in order for the listener to understand the music, the law must be acknowledged.

Even if Covach takes no notice of it, Schoenberg uses almost the same strategy in the quartet finale. The composer preserves a slightly biased or free version of the tonal scheme in certain joints and sectional endings – in the piano piece, consisting only of 9 bars, the biased descent takes place in the last three bars, which of course can be seen as a sectional ending. In the quartet finale, that which could be said to be the exposition of an implied sonata form alludes to F-sharp major in the *second* theme complex in the soprano part, and the coda ends with that same tonality. However, the first theme complex starts in a way that alludes to a G mode, and even if the coda is surprisingly tonal after much circling and interlacing, it gives relief only when the tendencies of the whole work are taken into account (it is a deviation from the musical world established earlier on in the movement, a turning back towards a well-known sphere – or a fall back to Earth).

Unlike Covach, whose world concept can be likened to either Gadamer's hermeneutic horizon, or a musical version of a discursive field, I propose that we have to contend with an essential ambiguity: the musical work opens up a world, but this world cannot be separated from the historically-conceived world, in the sense of an era. The world is both specific and general at the same time. What occurs in Schoenberg's "Entrückung", is that a new world is opened up, even if not all dimensions are dramatically changed. The main difference concerns the mobility of the music, or even a certain aspect of that mobility: the long-spun melodic lines still have a late-romantic flavour, the voice-leading has not undergone any radical transformation, whereas the

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59   Covach, "Schoenberg's Turn", §1.
60   Covach, "Schoenberg's Turn", §26.

sense of gravity, the actual loss of gravitation, leaves these motions unbound. George's poem stimulated Schoenberg's sensibilities, since it articulated in words that which the composer wanted to achieve in music: the dissolution of an existing world in order to let a new world rise, not as a subjective act, but as an instrument of forces of much greater magnitude. What the work bespeaks is an attunemental shift.

6. Decaying Worlds and Reworlding

We shall conclude with a turn backwards. This move was Schoenberg's own. When, in 1910, he returned to his *Gurre-Lieder* (begun in 1900) this would not be the only time when one of his existing fragments would be completed, despite the fact that the composer had orientated himself in new directions both stylistically and technically. In a minor way, this also concerns the Second String Quartet, which had been left uncompleted for half a year, during which his approach to composing changed profoundly. Schoenberg had to exert himself in order to bring the work to a well-balanced close. Other examples prove to be more complicated. The Chamber Symphony No. 2 was begun in 1906 and the composer returned to the work several times in the subsequent ten years, when he at last put it aside, so it seemed, for good. However, in 1939, when he was commissioned to write an orchestral piece, he finally completed the work, returning to a style that belonged to a past that was long gone.

Other works remained fragments, among them *Die Jakobsleiter* and *Moses und Aron*. Schoenberg did not abandon his hopes of completing them. Seventy years old, he made an application for a grant from the Guggenheim Foundation, planning to finish both works and several theoretical texts, but he was turned down.[61] *Gurre-Lieder*, too, nearly passed into this collection of gigantic ship-wrecks. It should be counted with the series of works that John Daverio called "symphonic cantatas", beginning with Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and ending with Mahler's Eighth Symphony.[62] Conspicuous with these works are their compound character, not only drawing on different traditions and materials, but also transgressing genre borders. It is much more rewarding to consider *Gurre-Lieder* as a Romantic symphonic cantata, rather than as an example of *Weltanschauungsmusik*, in the way Danuser does in his book, mentioned earlier. Danuser focuses on only the last movement, "Des Sommerwindes wilde Jagt", with its combination of melodrama and double mixed choirs, and ascribes the work a monistic world view, influenced by evolutionary biology. It is true that J.P. Jacobsen, just as Danuser asserts, was the first translator of Darwin in Denmark and that the poet became a botanist, too. Thanks to Georg Brandes, the influential Danish critic, Jacobsen made his name as an exponent of the Modern breakthrough in Denmark. However, when Jacobsen's works, after the author's death in 1885, became fashionable in Vienna, it was not due to the realism in some of his prose works, but the neo-Romanticism and pre-symbolism that made him important to authors such as Hugo von Hof-

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61   Charles Rosen, *Arnold Schoenberg* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996 [1975]), 1.
62   Cf. John Daverio, *Nineteenth-Century Music and the German Romantic Ideology* (New York: Shirmer, 1993), 129.

mannsthal and Rainer Maria Rilke. It has even been observed that the early transla-
tions of Jacobsen's poetry, published by Robert Franz Arnold in 1897, amplified traits
that drew the poems as close as possible to the symbolism *en vogue* in those days,
sometimes through even committing violence against the original.[63] It was Arnold's
translations that Alexander Zemlinsky used for his three Jacobsen songs, composed
in 1899, and it was probably he who made Schoenberg aware of the Danish author
(Zemlinsky later gave to Schoenberg the first volume of Jacobsen's *Gesammelte Werke*,
which included Arnold's translations in a slightly revised form, an edition which
Schoenberg used along with the first version).[64] Therefore, it seems unlikely that
Schoenberg was attracted to Jacobsen's Darwinism (lacking in the Gurre poems). His
choice must be understood to be in line with his interests in the blunt expressiveness
of Dehmel's poem "Verklärte Nacht" and the secretive suggestiveness of Maeterlinck's
symbolistic drama *Pelléas et Mélisande*, which ended up in two pieces of programme
music, the string sextet and the great symphonic work.

Behind Daverio's notion of the Romantic symphonic cantata, we find Friedrich
Schlegel's "romantic imperative" that "demanded the mixture of all poetic types".
Against the classicistic urge to separate different genres, the Romantic work of art
should mix them. Certain outstanding novels from the early 19th century do this,
spanning from works by Goethe to Hölderlin and Novalis. However, Daverio holds
that these novels "may point the way to a poetic future, but they do not thoroughly
inhabit it", and here he suggests that it was exactly the Romantic cantata that over-
came the strictures of *musical* genres.[65] It should also be mentioned that Jacobsen's
Gurresange are taken from a small book of his, *En Cactus springer ud* ("A Cactus in
Bloom"), that long after the call responds favourably to Schlegel's Romantic impera-
tive: mixing poetry with a simple story. In this frame story, some young authors gather
in the home of an old man, reading poetry to each other, whilst waiting for a cactus to
bloom.[66] Arnold chose, however, to translate only certain selections of poetry from the
book, including besides the *Gurresange* also five "Stemninger" and "En Arabesk".

In themselves, the *Gurresange* are disparate and unruly, blending firmly structured
verses and free verse, but also spanning from *Stimmungslyrik*, *folkevise* and archaic turns

63   Bengt Algot Sørensen has treated this problem in a series of articles, beginning with " 'J.P. Jacob-
     sen und der Jugendstil'. Zur Jacobsen-Rezeption in Deutschland und Österreich", *Orbis Litterarum*,
     33 (1978), 253–79. Sven-Olaf Poulsen has further developed this theme in "Umgang mit Texten.
     Zur Wechselwirkung zwischen Übersetzung und Rezeption am Beispiel ausgewählter deutscher J.P.
     Jacobsen-Übersetzungen", in Justa Holz-Mänttäri and Christiane Nord, eds, *Traducere navem: Fest-
     schrift für Katharina Reiß zum 70. Geburtstag* (Tampere: Universitäts-Bibliothek, 2003), 417–432. Lena
     Großmann has investigated in detail the Jacobsen reception in "Die Rezeption J. P. Jacobsen im deut-
     schen Sprachraum" (Diplomarbeit, Mag.phil., Universität Wien, 2013).
64   Cf. John Bergsagel, "J. P. Jacobsen and music", in F.J. Billeskov Jansen (ed.), *J.P. Jacobsens Spor i ord,
     billeder og toner* (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels forlag), 294–95. On the different versions in *Gurre-Lied-
     er*, see Ulrich Krämer, *Kritischer Bericht* of Arnold Schönberg, *Sämtliche Werke*, Abteilung V: Chor-
     werke, Reihe B, Band 16, Teil 1, *Gurre-Lieder* (Schott: Mainz and Wien: Universal, 2006), 366–9.
65   John Daverio, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 128–9.
66   J.P. Jacobsen, *En Cactus springer ud*, in *Samlede værker*, vol. 4 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1973).
67   For a thorough discussion, see Bernhard Glienke, *Jens Peter Jacobsens lyrische Dichtung: Ein Beitrag zur
     Geschichte der modernen Poesie* (Neumünster: Wachholz, 1975), 178–205.

taken from Icelandic poetry, to Medieval knittelverse, and structuring rhymes.[67] J.P. Jacobsen's poetic cycle is, in other words, an overt producer of moods – a perfect example of *Stimmungsproduktion*. Even Brandes, who was the celebrated spokesman for Nordic realism in Europe, discerned this tendency in the author's work, when he commented on Jacobsen's style in the main German organ of realism, the *Deutsche Rundschau*, in 1883:

> All' seine Worte und Sätze sind mit Stimmung getränkt und durchdrungen; es schwebt über seinem Stil ein so warmer Stimmungsnebel, ein solcher Duft und Dampf der Stimmung, daß man in der Atmosphäre seiner Bücher wie in einem großen Treibhaus athmet, und wenn man sie aus der Hand legt, sich zu Muthe fühlt, als trete man aus der exotischen Wärme des krystallenen Gebäudes in die rauhe Winterluft der Wirklichkeit hinaus.[68]

This can only be taken as a reversal to realism. No, Jacobsen's breakthrough in the German-speaking world came later and in another key than that of realism – exactly the key which Brandes used when commenting on moods. Stefan George translated Jacobsen during the 1890s in the *Blätter der Kunst* and included these translations in *Zeitgenössische Dichter* 1905. In 1903, Rilke wrote a letter to a young poet, where he strongly recommended a reading of Jacobsen's works: "Eine Welt wird über Sie kommen, das Glück, der Reichtum, die unbegreifliche Größe einer Welt."[69] It was a world beyond reality.

The musical world of Gurre was easily recognised by listeners in Vienna. The audience anticipated a new, great scandal but was overwhelmed after the first performance of Schoenberg's work, applauding for fifteen minutes. In Prague, *Pierrot Lunaire* was, on the contrary, a scandal the following day. There is an extreme contrast between two reviews, both appearing on the same page in *Prager Tagblatt*, 25th Febraury 1913, where first "Dr. v. B." (Wenzel Bělsky) complains about noise instead of music, concerning *Pierrot Lunaire*, and then Richard Batka reports regarding the success of *Gurre-Lieder* in Vienna.[70] The next day, now in *Fremden-Blatt*, the same Batka polarized the reception in the two cities, noting that, for once, Schoenberg had a triumph in Vienna and made a scandal in Prague:

> Hier das alte, hochgemute Heldenpaar, die große Naturstimmung zwischen Abend und Morgen. Dort der Pierrot, der mondsüchtige, weintrunkene, in die Nacht hinein-phantasierende, skurrile Narr. Es kann keinen stärkeren Kontrast geben. Und die Frage erhebt sich, ob Arnold Schönberg im lebendigen Gedächtnis der Nachwelt als kraftvoller Sänger stolzer Gurresagen oder als Interpret wehleidiger Katerideen eines Hanswursts fortleben wird. Waldemar und Pierrot! Zwei Seelen, zwei Welten![71]

68   Georg Brandes, "Nachwort" to Jacobsens short story "Die Pest in Bergamo", *Deutsche Rundschau*, 35 (1883), 300.
69   Rainer Maria Rilke, "Briefe an einen jungen Dichter", in *Werke*, vol. 4 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996), 519.
70   "Dr. v. B", "Arnold Schonberg im Kammermusik-Verein: Lieder des Pierrot Lunaire", and "R.B.", Uraufführung von Arnolds Schönberg Gurre-Liedern", *Prager Tagblatt*, 25 Feb., 1913, 6 and 6–7 respectively.
71   "R.B." (Richard Batka), *Fremden-Blatt*, 26.02.13, 15 (Feuiellton-Beilage).

Yes, it was indeed two different worlds. Both audience and critics were attuned to the atmospheric sonic landscapes of Gurre, the heated dialogue between Waldemar and Tove, the gothic horror of hunters rising from the dead, and the jester who seemed to be a Wagnerian Loge in disguise. Even the melodrama in the closing section "Des Sommerwindes wilde Jagd", which, from our perspective, foretells the *Sprechstimme* in *Pierrot Lunaire*, did not surprise the audience. Now almost extinct on stage and in the concert halls, but a genre reaching from Schumann and Mendelssohn to Liszt and Richard Strauss, the melodrama was part of the musical forms of the 19th century. In the review just quoted, Batka includes the "drastische Deklamation" amongst all the elements that accorded well to the old aesthetic rules.[72] He was thoroughly acquainted with melodrama, having written an introduction to the history of the genre when Humperdinck's *Königskinder* was debated after its premiere, as a melodrama, in 1897 (the composer later made the work into an opera).[73] For the original version, Humperdinck invented the notation of a spoken text with exact rhythm and approximated pitch, indicated by crosses as note heads, which Schoenberg later used.[74]

The reviews were favourable, or even enthusiastic. Ever re-occurring is the discussion of *Stimmung*. Else Bienenfeld writes about moods that could shake the listener.[75] Ludwig Karpath thought that the *Stimmungsmalerei* must have been decisive when Schoenberg set Jacobsen's text to music.[76] Julius Korngold fears that Jacobsen's "vibrierender Stimmungen, sensitiver Dekandenz-Gefühle" would make him a poet "für allermodernste, für impressionistische, sezessionistische, für .... istische Musik", but is surprised to find that Schoenberg has precisely refrained from such extravagances, and he instead acclaims the first part: "Hier waltet ein lyrischer Geist, der tief, mit Wärme, ja mit Ueberschwang, in luftschwelgerische wie todestraurige Liebesstimmungen eintaucht."[77] Richard Robert finds that Schoenberg has an acute sensibility for Jacobsen's moods: "In ausdrucksvollster Weise führt uns die Tonsprache Schönbergs den innersten Stimmungsgehalt der Dichtung zu Gemüte."[78]

Julius Korngold is also eager to point out from where Schoenberg has found his inspiration: the introduction, with an E-flat major chord, has a parallel in Wagner's *Das Rheingold*. Waldemar's decadent love is the same as Tristan's longing, and the orchestra paints with the "Telramund-Ortrud-Palette".[79] Many critics also make associations to Richard Strauss, but even Puccini is referred to and Robert goes as far back as to Schumann and Mendelssohn.

72   Ibid.
73   Richard Batka, "Melodramatisches", *Der Kunstwart*, 11:21 (1898), 270–72.
74   Schoenberg probably saw a performance of the melodrama at the Theater an der Wein, some weeks after the first performance in Munich. Cf. Rudolph Stephan, "Zur jüngsten Geschichte des Melodrams", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 17 (1960), 186–7.
75   Else Bienenfeld, *Neues Wiener Journal*, 24 Feb., 1913, 4.
76   Ludwig Karpath, *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 24 Feb., 1913, 16–7.
77   Julius Korngold, *Neue Freie Presse*, 1 Mar., 1913, 1.
78   Richard Robert, "Die 'Gurre-Lieder' von Schönberg", *Wiener Sonn- und Montags-Zeitung*, 24 Feb., 1913, 7.
79   Korngold, [review], 2.

This retrospective character not only has to do with the simple fact that Schoenberg had completed the whole piece in short score already in 1901. Compared with *Verklärte Nacht*, the cantata seems to take a step backwards, concerning both harmony and form. Ethan Haimo takes great pains to indicate in which way Schoenberg has, nevertheless, developed some compositional aspects. However, Haimo's endeavour is first of all motivated by the "incremental innovation", which he suggests was the composer's steering principle during the period 1899–1909. A practical reason for Schoenberg to compose within an established framework was that he commenced working on *Gurre-Lieder* with the intention of taking part in a composition contest for song cycles, arranged by the Vienna Tonkünstlerverein. However, he not only had a song cycle for two voices in mind, which would consist of the dialogue between Waldemar and Tove (the first nine songs); very early in the process of composition, he also planned the much larger work, where Jacobsen's whole cycle was to be used, now for soloists, orchestra and choirs.[80] According to Haimo, the song cycle is conservative, whereas the cantata is progressive: the cantata begins with a tonally obscure introduction; the cadences ending the songs in the first part were replaced by transitions, with the result that the tonal force weakened; the two later parts have no tonal centre.[81] Haimo goes on to conclude: "Schoenberg maneuvered himself back toward the forefront of musical modernism".[82]

In any case, Haimo's observations are accurate, but again we can put the grade of relevance in doubt. It goes without saying, that which was modern in 1901 was perhaps not that modern in 1913, when the work confronted an audience for the first time, but those who were there heard something they could recognise. Richard Taruskin comes closer to the truth than Haimo, when he writes that the emotions which Schoenberg had portrayed so masterfully "were anyone's" emotions, and they were expressed in terms that anyone could have learned from models in Wagner and Strauss.[83] This judgement can be put in another way: Schoenberg used a conventional musical language when finding the right expressions for the text; he did not find his own expressions.

There are, however, small distortions – a certain kind of newness in the work that might have been hard to perceive at the first performance. Since Schoenberg's work already existed in short score in 1901, his later instrumentation of it, with an imagination that had already produced both the Five Orchestral Pieces and *Erwartung*, makes the work slightly skew and wry. What I would like to suggest is that we hear a double projection, both of a conservative retrospection back into the Romantic lied and of a modernistic sound system.

Schoenberg himself was aware of the double nature of the work. He was not able to re-enter that past world: when, in 1911, he wanted to correct some passages, it

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80 This is the suggestion made by Ulrich Krämer after meticulous studies of the manuscripts in "Oratorium oder Liederzyklus?", *Journal of the Arnold Schönberg Center* 3 (2001), 86–103.
81 Haimo, *Schoenberg's Transformation*, 55–65.
82 Haimo, *Schoenberg's Transformation*, 59.
83 Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Early Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010), 306.

caused him more problems than composing the whole work. Something also happened in the third part: "man muß es ja sehen, daß der 1910 und 1911 instrumentierte Teil im Instrumentations-Stil ganz anders ist als der I. und II. Teil. Ich hatte nicht die Absicht das zu verbergen. Im Gegenteil, es ist selbstverständlich, daß ich zehn Jahre später anders instrumentiere."[84] The new instrumentation is not illogical, concerning the unfolding of the work, since the dialogue between Waldemar and Tove, which dominates the first part, and then Waldemar's monologue in the short second part, are followed by the gothic scene, with the ghostly hunters, and then the melodrama. The text, but also Schoenberg's choice of recitation instead of song, demands another treatment in his instrumentation. There are instruments such as large iron chains and a rattle, but also the bright sound of xylophone and the quiet clarity of celesta. If one compares the opening of Schoenberg's melodrama scene with Mahler's introduction to the First Symphony, both of them depicting scenery from nature, there are certain parallels such as the outdrawn flageolets in the strings combined with piccolo flute. Yet, Mahler's soundscape is characterized by a clarity that allows the voices separated by many octaves to coalesce, whereas Schoenberg's sound is much more disparate – and 'modernistic'. The musical materiality is slightly displaced.

Gurre-Lieder is not only marked with history; it presents the passage of time, being both a monument to the past and a reflection of time passing. The worlding of the work is in itself an unworlding, a dissolution of late-Romanticism taking place right before our ears. By this, I do not intend the passage of events inherent in Jacobsen's text, and accomplished musically by Schoenberg: the ghostly world of the night is dissolved when the sun rises. A comprehensive Schoenberg scholar such as Jan Maegaard suggests that this was a conscious process, where the composer liberated himself from the Wagnerian influence.[85] What I intend is the celebration of late-Romanticism in a sound world that deviates from its original conception, sometimes barely perceptible through a small incongruence, sometimes with the result of two different projections. This explains the specific hollowness of the work, a hollowness that cannot be said to be just an aesthetic flaw, but a coming-in-to-being of de-composition. What we can hear when listening carefully is therefore an unworlding of the late-Romantic era, the same kind of lateness or even ageing that is perceivable in a work such as Hans Pfitzner's *Von deutscher Seele*, but also a strange reworlding of that same era. In this reworlding, what is past is exposed in a new garbing, viewed in a retrospective manner or, better, listened to from a distance, in a productive way with an auditory imagination that belongs to another world. An attunemental shift has taken place.

This allows us to draw a conclusion about the worlding, unworlding and reworlding of the musical artwork. When a work, such as Schoenberg's Second String Quartet, installs a new musical world, this leads to an upheaval. We saw how disorientated the Viennese critics became, when they met a musical world they could not grasp: it was

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84   A letter by Arnold Schoenberg quoted by Alban Berg in his guide to *Gurre-Lieder*. See, Alban Berg, *Sämtliche Werke*, Part 3, *Musikalische Schriften und Dichtungen*, vol. 1, *Analysen musikalische Werke von Arnold Schönberg*, Wien: Universal Edition, 1994, 5.

85   Cf. Jan Maegaard, *Præludier til musik af Arnold Schönberg* (Copenhagen: Hansen, 1976), 46.

alien to them. Instead of attunement to the work, there was distunement. Today, more than one hundred years after the premiere, any qualified listener responds accurately to Schoenberg's quartet. Its world has since long become a part of the contemporary musical world, and the thrust of the work cannot so easily be discerned anymore – a hint that the work belongs to the past and that its world has begun to fade away.

Exactly the same Viennese critics responded favourably to the *Gurre-Lieder*, since that work stayed within the late-Romantic paradigm; its way of moving, its temporality and its musical spatiality were known to them. Yet, the materiality put forth in the musical world had been dislocated, bringing about a slight distortion. I hold this to be a sign of unworlding, where late-Romanticism shows itself to be ageing, losing its capability of letting a world rise. Several dimensions of that ageing world were reproduced. However, this change is not entirely negative: the world of *Gurre-Lieder* happens to articulate this dissolution, instead of being simply dissolved. If we add Schoenberg's reinterpretation of his own music into the instrumentation of the last part, then his symphonic cantata shows in an eminent way how a past world can be reworlded under new historical circumstances. The work itself performs the possibility of any retrieval of a music of the past.[86]

Abstract

When *Gurre-Lieder* had its first performance in Vienna on February 23, 1913, it was an immediate success despite the fact that Arnold Schoenberg had made a series of scandals with his latest works. The following day, *Pierrot Lunaire* made a new scandal in Prague.

It is a thought-provoking paradox that Schoenberg kept on working on the late Romantic symphonic cantata during the development of his free atonal or pantonal style. In this paper I discuss this paradox in terms of worlding and unworlding in reference to, among others, the philosopher Martin Heidegger and the musicologist John Covach. At the same time as a new musical world emerges in works such as the Second String Quartet and *Das Buch der hängenden Gärten*, the world of late Romanticism starts to be dissolved or unworlded.

Vital to this investigation is Stefan George, whose poems Schoenberg began to set to music during this period of change. Instead of only saying that Schoenberg needed texts in order to organize longer compositions during the atonal, pre-dodecaphonic phase – a common suggestion in research on the Second Viennese School – I propose that it is less linguistic elements than the specific tone of the poems that had the sought-after potential. As a matter of fact, George's close friend and foremost interpreter Friedrich Gundolf described a shift from the mood orientation of the early George to the emergence of a powerful tone.

The reviews of the first performances of the Second String Quartet and *Gurre-Lieder* are another important source for this study of a historical process. These texts, often commenting on the reaction of the audience, are testimonies to a conflict between musical worlds. They afford us with a precise formulation of what was heard and what was not heard, leading us to the articulation of a historical attunemental shift.

HELI REIMANN

Jazz and Soviet censorship: The example of late-Stalinist Estonia

Introduction

One of the peculiarities of the Soviet state was its concern with justifying state control of cultural production concurrently with its compulsion to promote that production's independence. The idea that the complete liberation of social, cultural and personal life must be manifested through total party control over social, cultural and personal life was, according to Aleksei Yurchak, a Soviet paradox.[1] All forms of intellectual, scientific, and artistic practice served mainly as propaganda and educational channels for shaping peoples' consciousness to match the Soviet mentality. Therefore, the main purpose of Soviet cultural politics was the effective propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideology in order to form a politically homogeneous population loyal to the communist regime. The ideology-driven politics of the regime was implemented by a complicated system of cultural regulation and surveillance.

In this article, I examine how censorship as a mode of surveillance influenced jazz during late-Stalinist[2] Estonia. My argument is that censorship existed in three forms: as a practice of journalistic editing; as repertoire censorship; and as self-censorship.

Late-Stalinism was a dynamic and contradictory period in Estonian jazz history, when the official status of the music changed from a highly prized musical form during the postwar era to the status of *musica non grata* in 1950. In the immediate postwar period, jazz symbolized victory and friendship with the allies, but over the course of Soviet ideological campaigns, the music became the target of Soviet ideological attacks against the entire Western world and its values. This period, known in Estonian history as Sovietisation and in Soviet history as late Stalinism, was marked by extensive social changes in Estonia. On the one hand, the Soviet occupation regime worked throughout this era to establish its power basis. On the other hand, late Stalinism is known as a time of intensifying ideological pressure that, for creative intelligence, meant the tightening of creative freedom permitted under the ideological doctrine of Zhdanovshchina.

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1   Aleksei Yurchak, *Everything was forever, until it was no more* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 40.
2   Late Stalinism is neatly framed by the Soviet victory in WWII on 9 May 1945 and the day of Stalin's death on 5 March 1953.

I begin by briefly outlining the concept of censorship and defining its meaning in the current context. The following three case studies are examples of how censorship operated in the context of jazz culture. First, I look at censorship as a journalistic practice based on Valter Ojakäär's[3] autobiographical notes. I then provide an example of an edited text after closely reading Ojakäär's 1949 article *Tänapäeva Ameerika džässimuusikast* ("On present day American jazz music") and examine the biographical details of a Soviet-era censor.

Additional examples are based on oral interview material and the records from a meeting of the State Philharmonic and explore the modes of censorship applied to musical collectives and their repertoires. Finally, I discuss self-censorship – or the self-inflicted restriction of free expression – by presenting the almanac of the Estonian jazz group Swing Club.

Jazz studies beyond American borders is definitely not a monolithic field but consists of several territories based on certain common denominators such as a local nation state, linguistic space, geographical territory or social formation. For example, research on British jazz[4] is well developed with extensive historiographical and professional networks. Although national jazz histories tend not to reach international readership because of language barriers, several works on national jazz scenes are available currently in English.[5] An early theorisation of diasporic jazz in general was Bruce Johnson's 2002 essay "The Jazz Diaspora".[6] In the German-speaking world there is a long scholarly tradition of jazz studies.[7]

A research field framed by a particular social formation is the body of studies on jazz in the former Eastern bloc. This area of jazz studies is relatively undeveloped, defined primarily by one collection of articles and conference panels. The first attempt to gather together the scholars interested in jazz in former socialist societies was the Warsaw conference "Jazz Behind the Iron Curtain" in 2008.[8]

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3   Valter Ojakäär was an Estonian jazz historian and publicist whose radio broadcasts, television programmes and journalistic writings, appearing in numerous journals and newspapers, introduced and interpreted jazz to a wide audience beginning in the late 1950s. Ojakäär's most significant contribution to Estonian cultural history is his four-volume series of books on Estonian popular music history.

4   See, for instance, the monographs: Catherine Tackley, The Evolution of Jazz in Britain, 1880–1935 (London: Ashgate, 2005); George McKay, Circular Breathing: The Cultural Politics of Jazz in Britain (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

5   See for instance Matthew F. Jordan, *Le Jazz: Jazz and French Cultural Identity* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010); Bruce Johnson, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Jazz* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1987); Colin Nettelbeck, *Dancing with De Beauvoir: Jazz and the French* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004); Taylor E. Atkins, Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000). Recent studies on European jazz include the anthology Luca Cerchiari, Laurent Cugny & Franz Kerschbaumer, *Eurojazzland: jazz and European Sources, Dynamics and Contexts* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2012).

6   Bruce Johnson, "The Jazz Diaspora," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jazz,* eds. Mervyn Cooke and David Horn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 33-54.

7   Wolfram Knauer,. *Jazz und Komposition* (Hofheim: Darmstädter Beiträge zur Jazzforschung, 1992).

8   Based on the presentations of the conference, the organisers published the collection of articles: Gerthrud Pickhan & Rüdiger Ritter *Jazz Behind the Iron Curtain* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010).

Written in the native language, Estonian jazz historiography has been seeking its symbolic place and identity primarily in national territory.[9] As a predominantly non-professionalised discourse, qualifying as a history of heritage, its main contribution has been the collection and preservation of data. The man whose efforts created the discourse of Estonian jazz history is Valter Ojakäär. His four volume series (2000; 2003; 2008; 2010), based on the memories of the author and his personal contacts with the musicians, is the most important document of Estonian jazz history. The focus of the author is on historical data about musical collectives and participants in the jazz scene. Because of its precise detail and abundant descriptions of musicians' everyday lives, Ojakäär's series is an invaluable source for those, such as myself, investigating the history from a scholarly perspective. The only dissertation on Estonian jazz is Tiit Lauk's *Jazz in Estonia in 1918-1945* (2008) the aim of which is to investigate how jazz reached Estonian cultural space.

As a scholarly subject, Soviet jazz has unfortunately attracted relatively little interest, with few recent scholarly publications. The only extensive monograph on jazz in the Soviet Union available to an English-speaking readership is still *Red & Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union* by Frederick S. Starr (1983). The first monograph on jazz in the Soviet Union was Aleksei Batachev´s *Sovetskii dzhaz*[10] published in 1972. An important figure in popularising jazz in USSR/Russia is Vladimir Feiertag.[11] Other authors in the field include Gaut,[12] Lücke,[13] Minor,[14] Feigin,[15] Beličenko,[16] Konen.[17]

Censorship – a concept

Censorship is a broad, multi-faceted concept that has been applied to many social, political, and cultural contexts in numerous ways for various reasons during different eras. The wide-ranging meaning of the term is the reason why the encyclopedia on censorship, for instance, provides no concrete definition of the concept, but instead

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9 The two articles on Estonian jazz available to wider readership are Walter Ojakäär," Jazz in Estland. Hoffnungen und Wirklichkeit," in *Jazz in Europa*, ed. Wolfram Knauer (Hofheim: Taunus, 1993), 95-105; Tiit Lauk, "Estonian Jazz Before and Behind the ´Iron Curtain´", in *Jazz Behind the Iron Curtain*, eds. Gertrud Pickhan and Rüdiger Ritter, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010), 35-56.

10 Aleksei Batachev, *Sovetskij dzhaz*. (Moskva: Muzyka, 1972). Aleksei Batachev (b. 1934) is a Russian jazz critic, historian and populariser of jazz.

11 Besides monographs and numerous articles, he is the author of the first comprehensive guide to Russian jazz articles: Vladimir Feiertag, *Dzhaz v Rossii: kratkii entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik.* (Saint Petersburg, Russia: Skifiia, 2009).

12 Greg Gaut, "Soviet jazz: transforming American music," in *Jazz in Mind: Essays on the History and Meaning of Jazz*, eds. Reginald T. Bruckner & Steven Weiland (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 60–82.

13 Martin Lücke, *Jazz im Totalitarismus: eine komparative Analyse des politisch motivierten Umgangs mit dem Jazz während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus und des Stalinismus* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004).

14 William Minor, *Unzipped Souls: A Jazz Journey Through the Soviet Union.* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1995).

15 Leonard Feigin, *Russian Jazz: New Identity* (New York: Quartet Books, 1985).

16 Sergei Belichenko, "Otechestvennyj dzhaz kak institut kultury," *Observatoriâ kultury*, 3 (2006): 47–53.

17 Vera Konen,*. Puti amerikanskoi muzyki* (Moskva: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1977).

rests upon the assumption that censorship involves a variety of processes, both "formal and informal, overt and covert, conscious and unconscious, by which restrictions are imposed on the collection, display, dissemination, and exchange of information, opinions, ideas, and imaginative expression."[18]

Nevertheless, several scholars have tried to formulate the concept. Martin Cloonan claims that censorship is "the process by which an agent (or agents) attempts to, and/or succeeds in, significantly altering and/or curtailing the freedom of expression of another agent with a view to limiting the likely audience for that expression."[19] He distinguishes between two common elements in definitions of censorship: people or organisations doing something to other people and/or to an art form, and people limiting themselves.[20] The latter is deemed self-censorship. Marie Korpe, Ole Reitov, and Martin Cloonan define censorship as a form of cultural and intended mass behavioural control.[21] In the musical field, censorship can target musical systems (e.g., musical intervals, rhythms), associated texts (i.e., song lyrics), musical instruments, musicians, performances, performance contexts, individual musical works, and musical genres.[22] The implementers of censorship include, they claim, a wide range of institutions, such as governments, mass media, religious authorities, industries, business firms, school systems, retailers, musical groups, parents, and even individual musicians. Matthew Bunn, however, criticises this "liberal conception of censorship," which sees censorship as external, coercive and repressive, implemented by authoritative social actors, and instead introduces the New Censorship Theory. In his view, the New Censorship Theory "recasts censorship from a negative repressive force, concerned only with prohibiting, silencing, and erasing, to a productive force that created new forms of discourse, new forms of communication, and a new genre of speech."[23]

Censorship in the Soviet Union comprised much broader dimensions than previously thought: it was an all-embracing system of ideological control by a single-party state over the entire public, political and cultural life, and it formed the pillar of the Soviet system of surveillance. Soviet power tried to maintain absolute control over every aspect of life in society. Censorship, as a part of the propaganda establishment, played the role of prohibiting agency, and provided political and manipulative functions aimed at controlling society and its individuals.[24] The ideological doctrine of Soviet power validated the operational rules of censorship. Gorjajeva calls Soviet type of

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18   Derek Jones, *Censorship: a world encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), xii.
19   Martin Cloonan, "Call That Censorship? Problem of Definition," in *Policing pop*, ed. Martin Cloonan and Reebee Garofalo (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 15.
20   Martin Cloonan, "What is musical censorship? Towards a better understanding of the term," in *Shoot the singer! Music censorship today*, ed. Marie Korpe (London, New York: Zed books, 2004), 3.
21   Marie Korpe, Ole Reitov, and Martin Cloonan "Music censorship from Plato to the present," in *Music and Manipulation: On the Social Uses and Social Control of Music*, ed. Steven Brown, Ulrik Volgsten (New York, Oxford: Berghahn books, 2006), 240.
22   Ibid.
23   Mathew Bunn, "Reimagining repression: new censorship theory and after," *History and Theory* 54 (2015): 29.
24   Tatjana Gorjajeva, *Polititcheskaja tesnzura v SSSR 1917-1991* (Moskva: Rosspen, 2009), 8.

censorship a political censorship: a system of actions for serving and ensuring the interests of power.[25] For Gorjajeva, a more suitable concept for describing Soviet censorship is *vsetsenzura* (total censorship). The term *vsetsenzura* blends the ideological power of the system with the politics and political system of the society, the monopolisation of all spheres of cultural life, and the elimination of dissidence.[26]

Summarising the nature of Soviet censorship, Tiiu Kreegipuu[27] identifies three specific features: the high level of secrecy; the enduring inflexibility of censorship; and the extensiveness of the censorship. In addition to various printed publications, this censorship affected artistic performances, cinema screenings, art exhibitions, and more. Veskimägi[28] calls Soviet censorship a permanent censorship because it influenced not only printed production but also all public media: radio; newspapers; and journals.

Censorship was implemented by several institutions and administrative units. The "brain" of Soviet censorship was the communist party, and its security institutions,[29] which wielded decisive power over the correctness or incorrectness of information. Censoring activities of the party functioned on three levels.[30] The level of decisions and documents encompassed regulation, or direct and indirect hints for following correct ideological line, whereas the institutional level encompassed the network of institutions involved in censoring.[31] On the local Estonian level, the main executive unit of censorship was the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. The main tasks of this institution were the leadership of Marxist-Leninist education, agitation for implementing party, and government decisions and control over the print media. The central executive institutions of censorship were Glavlit (the Main Directorate of Literature and Publishing Houses) and the Glavrepertkom (Central Committee on Repertoires) both of which had subordinate local units in every Soviet republic. Finally, censorship functioned at the level of individuals, representatives of various stages of party hierarchy who implemented the "everyday" censorship.

To summarise, censorship, as applied in the current study, can be understood in the sense of a "liberal conception of censorship", as a state system exercising multilevel control over creative output in the Soviet Union. The agency of censorship in the Soviet Union was the Communist Party that implemented its ideological control through complex mechanisms of governance.

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25   Gorjajeva, *Polititcheskaja tesnzura* , 11.
26   Gorjajeva, *Polititcheskaja tesnzura,* 9.
27   Tiiu Kreegipuu, "The ambivalent role of the Estonian press in the implementation of the Soviet project" (PhD diss., University of Tartu, 2011), 14.
28   Kalju Veskimägi, *Nõukogude unelaadne elu: tsensuur Eesti NSV-s ja tema peremehed* (Tallinn: Tallinna Raamatutrükikoda, 1996), 9.
29   Epp Lauk, 1999. "The Practice of Soviet Censorship in the Press: The Case of Estonia," *Nordicom Information* 21 (1999), 30.
30   Tiiu Kreegipuu, "Parteilisest tsensuurist Nõukogude Eestis," Methis 5 (2011), 28.
31   Kreegipuu, "Parteilisest tsensuurist," 33-34.

Censorship and journalism

Journalism served as an ideological weapon in Soviet society and as the main instrument for party propaganda machinery to implement its goals. The entire spectrum of purposes of journalistic practice, whether informational, regulatory, educational, or entertaining, fell under the purview of ideology. Journalism lacked its own identity, serving solely as a manipulated object in the hands of the Soviet system.[32] As a pillar of the regime, journalism was subjected to the rigid mechanism of state control. The main organs responsible for regulating the print media were party and censorship.

In his work *Sirp ja Saksofon* (Sickle and saxophone), Estonian jazz historian Valter Ojakäär describes how the procedure of censorship functioned in the form of article editing. As Ojakäär recalls in his book,[33] the editors of *Sirp ja Vasar* (Sickle and Hammer) received Ojakäär's article *Tänapäeva Ameerika džässmuusikast*[34] in the form of a reader's letter that attempted to introduce briefly the inception of jazz and its growth since the end of the 19th century. After a long silence, Ojakäär received an invitation from the newspaper's editor, Aron Tamarkin, to discuss publishing procedures of the article. First, Tamarkin explained that in its current form, the article was unsuitable for print. "I was aware of it and suggested leaving the article unpublished,"[35] was Ojakäär's comment on Tamarkin's complaint. Although Ojakäär first refused to make changes to the text, he later accepted the idea as a result of Tamarkin's persuasion. The editing procedure lasted several hours, however, and resulted in extensive changes to the text, which, according to the author, contained "more negative critique than relevant discussion. I gave up finally and added Spike Jones' witty musical parodies as examples of the dark side of jazz even though they had nothing to do with jazz." The final sentence, which stated that: "Modern American jazz music is a vivid reflection of the condescending mentality of American bourgeois society and its rapid approach to decline," was not the work of Ojakäär. This led the author to suggest publishing the article under Tamarkin's own name, since the article contains more of the editor's ideas than of Ojakäär's. But Tamarkin refused because, as a member of the editorial staff, he was not permitted to author the article. According to Ojakäär's final, somewhat ironic, conclusion: "After finishing the editing, I went home and enjoyed American jazz…. My friends expressed their reception of the article in two ways: some sneered, some were displeased!" However, Ojakäär interpreted the entire process of editing as beneficial to his future career as a journalist. He concluded: "As an inexperienced journalist, I learnt from Tamarkin how to embellish a journalistic text."

Historically, one can distinguish between two types of censorship in print production: preventive or preliminary; and repressive or penal.[36] Ojakäär's example repre-

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32   Tiiu Kreegipuu, "Nõukogude kultuuripoliitika printsiibid ja rakendused Eesti NSV-s aastatel 1944-1954 kirjanduse ja trükiajakirjanduse näitel" (Master's Thesis, 2005), 45.
33   Valter Ojakäär, *Sirp ja saksofon* (Tallinn: Kirjastus Ilo, 2008), 335-336.
34   Valter Ojakäär, "Tänapäeva Ameerika džässmuusikast," *Sirp ja Vasar*, August 20, 1949, 10.
35   All the translations from Estonian to English in the text are mine.
36   Veskimägi, "Nõukogude unelaadne elu," 9.

sented the preventive censorship that was the most common method of revising publications. Tamarkin's careful preliminary editing radically changed the piece initially submitted; ideologically more appropriate, Soviet-style utterances replaced the author's original lines. The newly revised text demonstrated few similarities to the original one and was almost unrecognisable to Ojakäär: "Reading now the text published under my name, I can recognise only about 25 per cent of what I wrote originally. The article was written before the attack against all that was Western began. Even at that time, I was still spurred by the naïve hope of illuminating the real essence of jazz for a wider audience."[37]

The individuals actually undertaking examinations of texts played a crucial role in the censoring process. According to Soviet norms, censors had to be party functionaries. Maarja Lõhmus presents the three most important characteristics of a proper Soviet censor: (1) the controller had to be experienced in the role; (2) he had to be skilled at performing certain functions, such as determining possible meanings and interpretations of the texts; (3) and by directing these meanings, the controller was to minimize negative reactions to propaganda.[38] Autobiographical notes by Aron Tamarkin[39] reveal insights about his life and career, and provide an example of a censor working under the Soviet regime. His handwritten biography indicates that Aron Tamarkin was born in a family of Jewish teachers in 1915. His educational background consisted of basic education at Tallinn's Jewish Gymnasium, piano studies at Tallinn's Conservatory (1920-1936), and one year of attendance in economics courses at the University of Tartu. His collaboration with the Soviet regime began under the Soviet occupation of Estonia in 1941 and continued again after returning from his Soviet military service in 1944. His ideological education consisted of the Night University of Marxism-Leninism at Plehhanov's Institute of the National Economy (1943); he was also a candidate of the Communist Party from 1944 and joined the organisation in 1949. Tamarkin's record book includes notes about his work as chief of the Committee on the Arts (1944-1948), head of the music department of the cultural newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar* (1948-1959), and director of the museum of Theatre and Music (1959-1969). His professional affiliations also included memberships of the Estonian Society of Journalists, the critics' section of the Theatre Society, and the artistic council of the State Philharmonic.

As an illustration to censored Soviet style jazz-related journalistic texts, I will discuss further Ojakäär's article *Tänapäeva Ameerika džässimuusikast*.[40] This article can be considered a response to the third Stalinist campaign in January 1949. During late Stalinism, three extensive political campaigns aimed to regulate cultural affairs: the assault against two literary magazines *Zvezda* and *Leningrad* in 1946, the decision about

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37   Ojakäär, *Sirp ja Saksofon*, 335.
38   Maarja Lõhmus, *Transformation of Public Text in Totalitarian System: A Socio-Semiotic Study of Soviet Censorship Practices in Estonian Radio in the 1980s.* (PhD diss., University of Turku, 2002), 56. Accessed March 20, 2011 http://www.hot.ee/loehmus/Kirja.PDF
39   Autobiographical notes of Aron Tamarkin, Estonian Museum of Theatre and Music, M12-1.
40   Valter Ojakäär, "Tänapäeva Ameerika džässmuusikast," *Sirp ja Vasar*, 20 August 1949, 10.

Vano Muradeli's opera *Great Friendship* in 1948, and the campaign against cosmopolitanism in 1949. As demonstrated elsewhere,[41] these campaigns directly paralleled the publication of jazz-related articles in *Sirp ja Vasar*: each article can be interpreted as a successive reaction to the promulgation of a new decree. The third Stalinist campaign in 1949 bore the ideological motto "struggle against cosmopolitanism." In Soviet vocabulary, cosmopolitans were intellectuals accused of harbouring pro-Western sympathies and lacking patriotism. The anti-cosmopolitan crusade signalled an important shift in the "attack discourse" on culture; the notion of anti-cosmopolitanism had now replaced formalism as a favourite term for describing inappropriate cultural products during the "Great Friendship."[42] Comparing formalism and anti-cosmopolitanism, Tomoff concluded that, "whereas formalism was dangerous because of its inherent dependence on Western modes of artistic experimentation, cosmopolitanism actually praised unhealthy foreign influence. The danger of cosmopolitanism was precisely that it was antipatriotic and glorified the West."[43]

Jazz, as an American cultural form, was ideologically unacceptable and therefore became the perfect object of attacks against cosmopolitanism and the Western world. In the Soviet Union, the assault on the West generally focused on three key areas.[44] The first area railed against the economic and racial exploitation of capitalist life. The Soviet press often focused on the pitiful lives of workers, racial inequality, and the lynching and oppression of African-Americans. The workers and ethnic minorities of capitalist societies were represented as honest victims of the system they lived under. The second major target of Soviet propagandists was capitalist democracy, and the third line of attack emphasised the soulless, economically driven nature of capitalist society, where everything was for sale and where people were motivated only by money and lived a life fueled by gambling and sleeping pills.

Ojakäär's writing in *Sirp ja Vasar* from 1949 conveys the Soviet anti-American rhetoric of the time – the text is laden with assaults on American lifestyle, its values and culture, and it denigrates American 'barbaric entertainment' and the "declining mentality of American bourgeois society." The introduction of the article places jazz in American musical culture and disparages its "prosperity":

> In present-day American musical life, it is jazz that has the biggest say. More than half of radio broadcasts consist of jazz music, record industries fling millions of jazz music records and concert halls are more and more at the disposal of jazz orchestras. It is the brightest example of the "prosperity" of American musical culture.

As mentioned before, the goal of the article was to provide an overview of jazz history, but the story of jazz as told from the Soviet perspective was full of anti-American and

41   Heli Reimann, "Late-Stalinist ideological campaigns and the rupture of jazz: 'jazz-talk' in the Soviet Estonian cultural newspaper Sirp ja Vasar," *Popular Music* 33 (2014), 509–529.
42   Kirill Tomoff, *Creative union: the professional organization of Soviet composers, 1939-1953* (London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 154.
43   Tomoff, *Creative Union*, 152.
44   Timothy Johnston, *Being Soviet: Rumour and Everyday Life under Stalin. 1939-1953*. (London: Oxford University Press, 2011), 171-172.

anti-capitalist propaganda. However, describing the inception of jazz more sympathetically as the spread of "sad-sounding Negro-songs, called blues, in the lower course of the Mississippi" instead casts an anti-capitalist pallor on the further development of jazz and its commercial "gentrifying" aspects:

> The jazz rhythm-based saloon dances, which emerged among whites, opened grandiose possibilities for business-men to make money with this new style of music. Step by step the whites tore from blacks their monopoly on jazz music and developed from it, during the last thirty years, the music, which is with pride called by American apologiststhe clearest expression of American art.

The next target of verbal assault became the lyrics of vocal jazz. The utopian message of jazz songs was deemed deserving of "the interests of American monopolists," who aimed to intoxicate the consciousness of the people with illusions of the "happy" and "fairy-tale life" of Hawaiians and other colonised countries. The passage concludes as follows: "It is clear, that jazz music has lost its essential values and headed to the external sensual effects and aspirations."

The appearance of swing in the mid-1930s is considered according to the article a great sensation in jazz music history; Benny Goodman was the first bandleader to use 'this original swinging rhythm which all jazz orchestras immediately imitated." But the "swing up" tradition was blamed for its corrupting effect on classical masterpieces:

> The masterpieces of Brahms, Bach, Tchaikovsky and Grieg were ruthlessly harnessed by jazz. For increasing the appetite for jazz among people, it became necessary to feed them familiar melodies from classical music. This barbaric "entertainment" continues until today, in spite of the fact that swing has given way to other styles.

As the next style in the historical sequence of jazz, bebop was reportedly named after the Negro jargon word for heavy exaltation and offered "senseless combinations of sounds and rhythms with wordless empty babbling." Historically, however, the term bebop has several etymologies, the most prominent of which is an onomatopoetic imitation of a characteristic quick two-note phrase that lead instruments played together to introduce a solo or end a song, followed by Latin American bandleaders' cries of "Arriba! Arriba!" to encourage their bands.

Progressive jazz, which appeared in 1947, is described in a formalist manner as music "missing melody line, tonality and even rhythm." Stan Kenton's progressive jazz and musical innovations spurred condemnation:

> The most sensational pieces of progressive jazz were Kenton's "Concerto To End All Concertos," "Artistry In Percussion" and "This is My Theme," where the soloist June Cristlechants an inarticulate rhymeless and metreless poem about broken window glass and the beat of a thousand marching feet, about the "senseless echo in the distance." All this is accompanied by the occasional cries of nine brass instruments and distracting plunks on drums.

The article also makes reference to Igor Stravinky's Ebony Concerto, written for Woody Herman and his First Herd in 1945. This highly celebrated work from Stravinsky's neo-classical period for clarinet and jazz band, which Stravinsky himself called a "jazz concerto grosso with a blues slow movement," was written shortly after the end of World War II and represents the composer's deepening immersion into the world of commercial music after his emigration to America in 1940. Ojakäär's article characterises Stravinsky as an "apostle of decadence" who composed for Herman's orchestra a purely "formalistic" piece. The reception of the performance of the concerto at Carnegie Hall was reportedly cool despite the massive promotion and Stravinsky's own participation as a conductor.

The next passages highlight the money-centeredness of American society by stating that: "The yardstick of music in America, as it is for other arts, is the dollar. Soloists and orchestras are evaluated by the sums of money their performances can generate. This is why several serious, talented artists such as Lily Pons and Oscar Levant have turned to the better-paid field of jazz and decadent light music."

Descriptions of jazz pieces in Ojakäär's article tend to focus more on non-musical aspects than on the music itself. For instance, the magnetic effect of jazz is said to have the same effects as alarm clock ringing, police whistles and breaking glassware. The next section of the article is dedicated to American jazz artist Skim Galliard, known in late 1930s and early 1940s America as a musician who entertained his audiences with comic spoofs, irreverent parodies, ethnic humour, and songs verging on the nonsensical. He had a knack for writing song titles that could tease a smile—such as "Banana Skins Are Falling" or "Serenade to a Poodle"—and staged subversive performances that blended hard-swinging jazz, humorous chatter, and imaginative comic language invented by Galliard.[45] In Ojakäär's article, Galliard, spelled incorrectly as Slim Caillard, was said to have written "The avocado seed soup symphony," a piece described as "a ten-minute musical bacchanale consisting of the senseless babbling of three singers accompanied by piano, guitar and bass." Audiences were said to have been captivated by musicians "under the influence of a drug made from the marihuana plant." The section ends with the conclusion that: "In general, senselessness and total mental emptiness are features of jazz music. What should one think of music with titles such as "Mop, Mop," "Blop, Bah," "Pom Pom," "Grip an axe, Max," "Don't beat your wife with a spade," etc?"

The penultimate paragraph of the article offers the typical Soviet-style construct of the black-versus-white paradigm. Even though black and white musicians often performed together in jazz orchestras, the 'colour line' had not disappeared. The article later declared that: "Negroes can have seats only in the last row. Some Negro musicians can be great favourites of the audiences, but beyond the stage, they are humiliated like any other black."

45   Garrett, C.H. 2012. 'The humor of jazz', in Jazz/Not Jazz: The Music Heritage and its Boundaries, ed. D. Ake, C. Garrett and D. Goldmark (Berkeley, CA, University of California Press), pp. 49–69 (Garrett 2013 p. 57)

Censoring the music

With no fixed meaning, a piece of music is difficult to subject to any censoring method. Since a repertoire list of the titles of pieces was the only certain meaningful unit for censors to assess, the primary method for imposing control over the music became the censoring of concert programmes. Both professional and amateur jazz collectives had to submit their programme lists for censoring. The programmes of the state-owned *Eesti riikliku filharmoonia jazzorkester* (the Jazz Orchestra of the Estonian State Philharmonic [JOESP]), for instance, even had to pass two programme-censoring procedures. The first stage of inspection took place at the local level in Tallinn in front of the special committee, usually comprising musically incompetent party officials, while the second stage was conducted in Leningrad by the higher all-union level of censorship officials.[46]

The fact that music was difficult for party bureaucrats to police left more room for musicians' creativity. As Tomoff notes, "Composers and musicians could use their privileged access to the interpretation of this abstract art form to ensure that they always had some manoeuvrability, that they perceived their agency."[47] One of the "manoeuvring" strategies for the musicians was to manipulate the titles of their pieces. Oleg Sapozhnin[48] recalled that his father always added some "bait" to the programme list. This 'bait' meant the purposeful inclusion in the list of certain pieces with obviously inappropriate titles for their expected exclusion. This strategy helped to retain the desired repertoire in the programme, since censors could not eliminate all the pieces. Another example demonstrates how some "cosmetic" changes helped to keep a piece in the repertoire list. For instance, the jazz piece entitled "Night in the big city," which made obvious reference to New York, remained in the programme after replacing it with the politically more acceptable title "Night in the Negro village."[49]

Submitting concert programmes for inspection was compulsory not only for professional collectives, but for all amateur ones too. The process took place before a special committee at the People's Commissariat for Education. Treufeldt's recollection of the inspection of one restaurant group's repertoire shows how the officials' incompetence could lead to absurd situations.

> The violinist Boris Kuurman took his repertoire list to the Commissariat. Because Chief Comrade Tamarkin was not there, two women reviewed the list. While Valgre and Strauss were considered appropriate, the potpourri from the operetta Victoria and her Hussar drew suspicious. While Victoria was an acceptable name, Hussar was crossed out as something militant. Kuurman, in perplexity, wanted to ask where Victoria ends and Hussar starts in the piece, but Tamarkin entered the room and confirmed the list by stamping it. Now Kuurman had a signed and stamped paper where Victoria was allowed and Hussar forbidden.[50]

46   Heino Pedusaar, *Boba: mees kui orkester* (Tallinn: Infotrükk, 2000), 101.
47   Tomoff, *Creative Union*, 5.
48   Author's interview with Oleg Sapozhnin. 23 Apr 2014.
49   Heino Pedusaar, *Boba*, 102.
50   Author's interview with Udo Treufldt 17 Oct 2013.

The mechanism of control in Soviet society was a multi-staged system involving, in addition to previously discussed preventive modes of censorship, "follow-up" methods of inspection also. Not only was the economy highly planned, but cultural life was also organised on the basis of strict planning. The following section describes an example of this "follow-up" controlling procedure – a meeting at the Estonian Philharmonic regarding the fulfillment of the 1946 year plan. This event, on 11th November, was recorded in a 28-page plan of protocol.[51] As the record indicates, the meeting took place in a highly formal manner in which participants had to follow a certain agenda and use a particular speaking formula to demonstrate their polemical skills, to raise important questions, to resolve controversy and to formulate decisions. One of the peculiarities of Soviet society was its high degree of ritualisation. Some of those rituals were, as Kojevnikov[52] calls them, cultural games – rituals of diskussia (disputation) and kritika i samokritika (criticism and self-criticism). The overview of the report focuses on the materials related to the JOESP, one of the four collectives on the payroll of the Estonian Philharmonic.

The meeting opened with a report on the fulfillment of the annual plan by Comrade Valgma. First, the report stated that the male choir gave 108 concerts instead of the planned 136. The JOESP happened to be the next collective whose concert data were slated for analysis. According to the annual plan, the orchestra had to give 174 concerts, but performed on only 87 occasions instead, which meant that 87 concerts went unperformed and, as a result, the organization lost 552,800 rubles of potential revenue. Later, Valgma poses a critical question about the reasons why the plan went unfulfilled. Valgma then replies to his own question: "We all know – that it is the lack of the repertoire," and continues: "For four months, the jazz orchestra has not been travelling, but just preparing for a new programme. Yet there is still no new programme." The orchestra, however, performed nine concerts in Tallinn earning 7,500 rubles.

The next section of the protocol is titled "Negotiations." The first speaker, Vladimir Sapozhnin, conductor of the JOESP, tries to explain the ineffectiveness of the JOESP's activity. The main problem seems to be its repertoire: the new concert programme prepared was declared inappropriate, but the lack of repertoire prevented them from preparing another one:

> I must admit that several musicians have left the orchestra. We have a new collective. We rehearse and prepare a new repertoire, but we don't know what will happen next. Everybody says we will have a new repertoire again, but when we will receive it nobody knows. We just composed a new programme, but now need another one. Yes, we disagree with the programme and complained to the Philharmonic and the Committee on the Arts.

The critical notes of the following speakers concern, for instance, the poor quality of the musical instruments, the poor travelling conditions and accommodation, the lack

51   The protocol is preserved at the Estonian Theatre and Music Museum , MO 276-4.
52   Aleksander Kojevnikov, "Games of Stalinist democracy: Ideological discussions in Soviet sciences," in *Stalinism: New Directions*, ed. Sheila Fitzpatrick (London, New York: Routledge, 2000), 149.

of discipline regarding alcohol abuse, the poor rehearsal conditions, the inadequate administrative working conditions, and missed symphony orchestra, chamber music and concert lectures.

Comrade Aron Tamarkin, member of the artistic council of the State Philharmonic and a representative of the Committee on the Arts, opens his talk with self-critical notes. By reflecting on the complaints of previous speakers, he admits to the Committee on the Arts' fault in the situation that has occurred: "The Committee on the Arts remained a bystander for too long by just observing the state of affairs at the Philharmonic." Talking about the jazz orchestra, Tamarkin recognises the 'sad' state of the orchestra and analyses the reasons why the situation occurred:

> We can make reprimands and look for culprits, but it is clear that we need to revise the jazz orchestra's repertoire as a result of historical decisions by the Central Committee, which decided that this repertoire is 100 per cent unsuitable. Why? Because it contains too much American jazz music. The original Estonian repertoire should be more extensive than during the first inspection. This was the direction given to jazz[53], but it is difficult to find a quick solution.

Tamarkin's talk continues with suggestions on composing a programme: he recommends building the programme according to the principle of mixing pieces of Western and Estonian origin instead of dedicating the first part of the concert to a Western repertoire and the second to an Estonian one. The next sentence relates how the JOESP performed with an unapproved programme, but unfortunately it is unclear who gave permission to do that. Tamarkin, however, ends on an optimistic note by stating that the search for a new repertoire will definitely lead to success.

In response to his speech, Tamarkin is asked the following question: "Are you sure the jazz orchestra's new programme will be as successful as the previous one?" His reply is cautious: he is unsure, but recommends that the orchestra not lose time and start touring with its current programme, during which time the orchestra can create a new repertoire.

In short, the reason for the demagogical discussions around the JOESP was its lack of an approved repertoire. The resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of 14 August 1946 necessitated the changes in repertoire. This resolution was an attack on two literary magazines, *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*, which were blamed for publishing supposedly apolitical, individualistic, "bourgeois" works of the satirist Mikhail Zoshchenko and the poet Anna Akhmatova. This decree was not only directed against the aforementioned writers, but announced the beginning of an extensive anti-Western campaign that saw jazz as a representative of American ideology. The protocol of the meeting at the Estonian Philharmonic is significant because it marks the historical point where low political tolerance of jazz changed attitudes towards the music.

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53   The word jazz marked both the musical style and the orchestra in Soviet discourse.

Self-censorship

Self-censorship, a self-imposed restriction of free expression, has most often been associated with patterns of behaviour necessitated by authoritarian regimes. In the light of the regime's missing tolerance of criticism and the reinforcement of its control with varying degrees of punishment, people who celebrated the virtues of their rulers were obviously safeguarding their professional careers and indeed their very survival.[54]

Self-censorship was pervasive and extremely powerful in Soviet society. People had to decide whether to compromise, to write just for themselves or to take a risk and engage in dissident activity. Often the creative intelligentsia made compromises between ideology driven norms and their own artistic aims. Even though nobody could foresee whether their artwork would ever reach their intended audiences or what form and content their artwork would take after surviving the censorship process, the artists were often wary of their own works and, to calm their anxiety, would conform their art to ideological norms.[55] Both the creative intelligentsia and their audiences were familiar with the unwritten rules of the game known as Soviet censorship, and tried to regulate their own agency and social behaviour in the public sphere in accordance with the requirements of censorship. The functions of self-censorship in Soviet society differed from those in democratic societies where self-censorship translates information passing between sources and receivers..[56]

The writings of the almanac of the Estonian jazz group Swing Club (SC) provide an excellent example of self-censorship.[57] This unique document's 223 pages, written between 1947 and 1950, offer insight into a wide range of issues in different formats.[58] It contains writings on the group's day-to-day business, mail correspondence between the musicians, lists of the band's repertoire and advanced aesthetic contemplations, the latter categorised as jazz criticism. The main purposes for writing the almanac were to theorise about jazz and to popularise knowledge about the music. Reading the almanac may somewhat confuse the reader, however, since the general mode of expression and formal structure of the texts demonstrated an apparent similarity to public texts of official, highly ideological political discourse. Some of the language contained an incisive critique of the West, especially of American values, and employed particularly direct slogan-like Soviet rhetoric. Some of the writings adhered to a format typical of the Soviet mode of discussion and featured many critiques and self-criticism as well as arguments both for and against. One possible explanation for this Soviet-minded manner of expression is that self-censorship was the way in which SC members masked their real views and adopted a "red" vocabulary. The act of self-censoring is understandable in light of the envi-

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54 Derek Jones, *Censorship: a world encyclopedia* (London, Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001), 2188.
55 Gorjajeva, *Polititcheskaja tesnzura,* 135.
56 Gorjajeva, *Polititcheskaja tesnzura,* 136.
57 The Swing Club Almanac, preserved at the Estonian Theatre and Music Museum.
58 For further information about the almanac see Heli Raimann, "'Down with bebop--viva swing!' Swing Club and the meaning of jazz in late 1940s Estonia," *Jazz Research Journal.* 4.2 (2010), 95-122.

ronment in which the almanac was written: the anti-jazz politics of the late-Stalinist era. Most probably it was fear of the regime that induced musicians to censor their own written expression. On the other hand, musicians believed that fitting jazz into Soviet paradigms would help maintain jazz's position in the cultural arena. For instance, claims that bebop was uncompromisingly stagnant, demolishing all that is authentic and valuable in jazz with its "thrilling" American ethos of rushing and by "classisising" swing, were part of musicians' attempts to make jazz resonate with the principles of Soviet musical standards.[59] Therefore, the Soviet-style verbal "acrobatics" became just one manoeuvring technique for fighting for the music's survival under Stalinism.

Conclusions

The peculiarity of Soviet censorship was its all-encompassing nature; Gorjajeva called it *vsetsenzura*, a vast controlling mechanism permeating all of society. The all-pervasive harshness of state censorship has become a symbol of the repressiveness of Soviet power. Culture as a carrier of powerful influence to the minds and motivation of the masses was controlled by two methods: the repression of ideologically inappropriate cultural artefacts; and facilitation of the creation of works that authorities believed would help build socialism.[60] During the late-Stalinist era, jazz as a cultural form representing American values and mentality experienced probably the severest repressions in its entire history in the Soviet Union.

In this article, the anti-jazz acts of Soviet censorship have been investigated on the basis of three case studies. The example of censorship as a journalistic editing practice between the censor and the author, Valter Ojakäär, took the form of a one-on-one meeting. Because of the changing ideological rule, Ojakäär's article, submitted some time earlier, failed to meet the demands of the era and, accordingly, had to be rewritten. However, Ojakäär's somewhat humourous story indicates that the procedure may even have proved beneficial to him as a neophyte journalist. Aron Tamarkin represents a fine description of the identity of an actual Soviet-era censor. Though a party functionary, Tamarkin nevertheless possessed an advanced musical education and therefore had sufficient proficiency to hold his position as an editor of musical texts. Descriptions of Tamarkin's activities also appeared in a second case study where he, as chief of the Committee on the Arts and a member of the artistic council of the State Philharmonic, participated in the meeting of the State Philharmonic. Speculation over the reasons for Tamarkin's active collaboration with the Soviets leads to the detail in his work history that his sister was a resident in Israel. In the Soviet era, having relatives living abroad could be sufficient cause for serious repression. Co-operation with the regime was the tool people often embraced to expiate their "guilt."

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59   *Swing Club Almanac*: "Ameerika muusikaline elutunnetus" [Musical life of America], 21-22.
60   Brian Kassof, *Glavlit,* "Ideological Censorship and Russian-Language Book Publishing," *The Russian Review* 74 (2015), 70.

Censorship is often intertwined with propaganda, two major methods authoritarian regimes employ to manipulate a society.[61] Ojakäär's censored article extensively described the vocabulary of the anti-American anti-jazz propaganda of the period. Verbal attacks were levelled against the American mentality and capitalist way of life – especially its racial exploitation, oppressivesoullessness, and focus on money. Criticism focused on non-musical aspects such as the lyrics of vocal jazz, the destructive influence of swing on classical masterpieces, and the titles of the pieces. In his discussions about the effect of Soviet propaganda on jazz music, Yurchak says that the extensive post-war anti-West propaganda failed to remove America and the West from the symbolic arena of Soviet life. Western and American culture became more, rather than less, important in the symbols and cultural world of late-Stalinism.[62] Jazz, however, gradually, if only temporarily, disappeared from public cultural life as a result of anti-jazz actions.

A second type of case study provides examples of repertoire censorship. Censorship procedures focused predominantly on the programme list, and the titles of the pieces were elements that determined the music's ideological correctness or incorrectness. The example based on the protocols of the meeting of the State Philharmonic offered a glimpse of the highly ritualised act of "follow-up" control. The participants' talk raised critical issues about the activity of the entire Philharmonic, including the state of the JOESP, whose repertoire happened to be inappropriate in light of a recent ideological decree.

A final example interpreted the Soviet-style mode of expression in the Swing Club Almanac as an act of self-censorship. Musicians internalised Soviet-style patterns of expression primarily for the purpose of self-preservation under conditions where jazz experiences gradually reduced political authorities' tolerance of jazz music.

It is important to point out the significance of the temporal aspect of these examples of censorship: the cases presented here highlight important turning points in Estonian jazz history. The protocol of the State Philharmonic marked the beginning in 1946 of the jazz-inimical period, which led finally to the disbanding of the JOESP in 1948. Ojakäär's article, in turn, recorded the moment before jazz vanished from the public cultural arena in 1949.

Therefore, according to the examples presented, the main methods of censorship included journalistic editing, inspection of the repertoire lists, administrative "follow-up" control and self-censorship.

Censorship was definitely the most direct executive mode of holding control over culture in Soviet Union. However, the entire system of surveillance was more extensive including several indirect ideological methods of controlling the culture and affecting peoples' consciousness. The other methods for accomplishment of ideological prescriptions of the communist party during late-Stalinism were the doctrine of Socialist

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61 Marie Korpe, Ole Reitov, and Martin Cloonan "Music censorship from Plato to the present," in *Music and Manipulation: On the Social Uses and Social Control of Music*, ed. Steven Brown, Ulrik Volgsten (New York, Oxford: Berghahn books, 2006), 239.
62 Aleksei Yurchak, *Everything was forever*, 185.

Realism, ideological decrees of Zhdanovshchina, and the highly regulated state mechanism of governance that itself was a complex hierarchical system.[63]

The applied censorship practices were, however, unable to affect the musical qualities of jazz. It was the discourse of jazz that was censored in the example of journalistic text editing. Repertoire censoring concerned only external attributes of the music since the titles of the pieces were only meaningful units for inspection. Although calls were made to Sovietise jazz, the features of Sovietised jazz remained undefined. Therefore, censorship took place only on a surface level and had no ability to reach the level of music itself.

Jazz was an object of attack from the hands of censors not only in the Soviet Union; censorship was part of the tactics of suppression also in another totalitarian regime – that of National Socialism in Nazi Germany. The music was censored since, as an art form born on foreign soil and presided over by Negroes and Jews, it could have no place in the culture of a "master race."[64] Theodor Adorno claimed that in Nazi Germany and in the Soviet Union, the same musical pieces were forbidden, albeit for totally different reasons. For Adorno, the fact that the Soviets denounced as "bourgeois decadence" the music that the Nazis called "cultural bolshevism" was an indication that the stigma political structures impose on musical structures has little to do with the music or its content.[65] As this study demonstrates, the reason why Soviet ideology and state power, as the two principal agents of censorship, attempted to suppress jazz as an unwanted form of musical expression had little to do with the music itself, but rather the values and lifestyle that the music represented. Jazz, first of all, communicated a system of meanings incompatible with the framework of the contemporary Soviet ideological paradigm. Thus, the censored aspect lay beyond the music itself.

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63   For further information see Heli Reimann, *Jazz in Soviet Estonia from 1944 to 1953: meanings, spaces and paradoxes*. (https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/157762/jazzinso.pdf?sequence=1, 2015.)

64   Look for instance Michael H. Kater "Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany." (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

65   Theodor W. Adorno, *Dissonanzen. Musik in der verwalteten Welt*, Göttingen, in Music as a parallel power structure, ed. Alekna Barber-Kersovan and Marie Korpe, *Shoot the singer!: music censorship today*, (London, New York: Zed books, 2004).

Abstract

This article examines how censorship as a mode of surveillance influenced jazz during late-Stalinist Estonia. The anti-jazz actions of Soviet censorship are investigated in the form of three case studies discussing jazz as: a practice of journalistic editing; as repertoire censorship; and as self-censorship. Censorship practices were, however, unable to affect the musical qualities of jazz. It was the discourse of jazz that was censored as seen in the example of journalistic text editing. Repertoire censoring concerned only external attributes of the music since the titles of the pieces were only the meaningful units for inspection. Although calls were made to Sovietise jazz, the features of Sovietised jazz remained undefined. Censorship, therefore, took place only on a surface level and had no ability to penetrate to the level of music itself.

ANNE REESE WILLÉN

The Capital – The Core of Musical Life: The Structural Transformation of Public Musical Life in Stockholm 1840 to 1890

The 19th century was a time of major transformations of the public musical life of cities across Europe as new forms and functions were developed and adapted to the new social structures that emerged in society. In Sweden, at the beginning of the century, public musical life was tied to the representational culture of royal power. This changed over time with the emergence of bourgeois culture public musical life. Stockholm, as the country's capital and royal and administrative center, stood out as a musical city that experienced these developments early on, in comparison with other cities, and it came to form the core of the public musical life of the country.

I will here present a brief overview of the conditions within public musical life in Stockholm and how they changed during the period 1840 to 1890 within concert life, among performers and audiences and in the press.[1] The article will then focus on the concept of *bildung* and the significance of this in the processes of institutionalization and professionalization within the musical life.

Where was music performed? : Musical institutions, venues for musical performances and the institutionalization of the musical life

In the beginning of the 19th century, the musical life of Stockholm was centered round the royal musical institutions: The Royal Theater, Hovkapellet (The Royal Court Orchestra) and The Royal Swedish Academy of Music. These musical institutions all

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1 This article presents some aspects from my doctoral dissertation that examines the structural transformation of musical life in Stockholm during the period 1840 to 1890. The focus of this work is the processes of institutionalization and professionalization within four main areas of the classical music sphere: the music press, concert life, the performers and the audience. Anne Reese Willén, *I huvudstaden, musiklivets härd: Den strukturella omvandlingen av Stockholms offentliga konstmusikliv ca 1840 – 1890* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2014), available online at http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?dswid=7697&pid=diva2%3A691584&c=1&searchType=SIMPLE&language=sv&query=anne+reese+willen&af=%5B%5D&aq=%5B%5B%5D%5D&aq2=%5B%5B%5D%5D&aqe=%5B%5D&noOfRows=50&sortOrder=author_sort_asc&onlyFullText=false&sf=all

had strong associations to representational culture during the reign of King Gustav III, but came to change and adapt to the new culture, especially during the second half of the 19th century.

The Royal Theater as a musical institution

The Royal Theater, which from 1825 to 1863 housed both The Royal Opera and The Royal Theater after a fire had destroyed the previous theater house, was the main musical employer in the city for most of the century. Besides the singers, the musical staff consisted of the musicians of Hovkapellet, which was the only complete symphony orchestra in the city until the latter part of the century. It was originally the orchestra of the royal court, but King Gustav III had assigned Hovkapellet to the Royal Opera when it was founded in 1773 and it has been the opera orchestra ever since. The Royal Theater also had the only purpose-built stage for musical performances in the city. In addition to the theater and operatic performances, there were also a number of concerts held on this stage. The concerts at The Royal Theater were both arranged by the theater and by private entrepreneurs. The concerts arranged by the theater were often benefit concerts for singers or sometimes musicians employed at the theater, where the revenues became part of their yearly salary. Also, Hovkapellet had a benefit concert every year where the revenue went to the orchestra's retirement fund. In cases where the stage was used for private enterprises, the revenues went to the organizer who also was economically responsible toward the theater, paying a rather large stage fee and salaries for all participants. This meant that it was quite a risky business if the audience failed to materialize, and it was mainly the most accomplished singers and musicians in the city (who were also often employed by the theater) or internationally famous visiting virtuosos who tended to give such concerts. The possibilities for these types of performances were in any case not so numerous because the stage was often occupied by the regular theatrical or operatic performances of the theater.

Other venues for concert performances

Concerts were also held in other venues but there was no real concert hall until in the 1870s when the house of The Royal Swedish Academy of Music was built. However, other assembly halls like The House of Nobility and the Stock market building were also used from time to time for concerts by private entrepreneurs, many whom were also employed by The Royal Theater. Other relatively frequently used venues for concerts were the large and centrally located churches in the city, but this was mainly for sacred music. The repertoire of these church concerts generally comprised oratories and other large works for soloists, choir and orchestra. Since these performances required a large ensemble, they were always arranged in collaboration between different groups and performers. In most cases, the core of the orchestra consisted of musicians from Hovkapellet, often reinforced by amateur musicians. Singers from the opera performed the solo parts and the choir was typically drawn from the membership of one

or more musical society sometimes supported by the choir of The Royal Theater. Such collaborations took place on a regular basis, at least annually. Works like Haydn's *Creation* and Mendelssohn's *Elijah* were performed in such collaboration concerts, but sacred concerts with programs comprised of arias and other parts from larger works were also often performed.

The Royal Swedish Academy of Music was an important music institution in several ways. The academy was founded in 1771 during the reign of King Gustav III, as was The Royal Theater. The statutes declared that the academy should work as a promoter of music in all respects from critically examining musical works and instruments to offering a higher musical education. It was also supposed to work as an overseer of concert life more generally. One of the main functions of the academy came to be musical education. Even if it took until the beginning of the second half of the 19th century for it to stabilize as an educational institution, it was an important factor within concert life. For a long time, the academy operated from rented premises but, in 1877, the academy building at Nybrokajen was built. The large hall of the academy, both in the old, rented premises and in the academy building, became a significant concert venue both for concerts arranged by the academy and those arranged by private entrepreneurs. The concerts arranged by the academy were often collaborations between the academy's students and other agents within the musical life. In 1858 an orchestra was founded at the conservatory of the academy, which gave some public concerts, but, since the orchestra consisted of students at the conservatory, it was difficult for it to maintain the continuity needed for it to make any real difference within the city's public musical life.

The market for public entertainment as forum for public musical performances

From the 1840s on, the market for public entertainment grew significantly. This was both a result of the deregulation of the guild system and its eventual disbandment in 1864[2] and of general social changes giving rise to new demands for public entertainment. This allowed the market to grow and several new types of establishment developed. For the music market, the very popular *schweizerier*, cafés that also served alcoholic beverages, were especially important. Different types of licensed premises, like *schweizerier*, restaurants and other places of amusement also introduced music as a part of their enterprises. Often the owner hired musicians to play during the afternoon and evening to entertain the guests, but in some cases the premises were also put at the disposal of private entrepreneurs who arranged and took the financial responsibility of a concert project. One place that became important for this type of concert was the *schweizeri* "Hotel de la Croix"[3] founded in 1844. Several of the city's most established musicians and singers (otherwise employed by The Royal Theater) as well as visiting international virtuosos arranged public concerts there.

2   The new regulation of "fabriks- och hantverksförordningen" (the factory- and trade decree) came into effect in 1846 and replaced the guild system. The decree later changed in 1864 with "näringsfrihetsförordningen" (the decree of freedom of trade), which marked the definite end of the guild system.
3   Also called La Croix salong (the salon de La Croix).

Another important place of entertainment was the restaurant, café and general place of amusement *Berns salonger*[4], which still exists today in the same premises and for similar kinds of activity. *Berns* was founded in 1863 and music was an important part from the start, with musical performances every day. In the beginning, musicians were hired on a day-to-day basis but, from 1869, a permanent orchestra was employed under the leadership of the conductor August Meissner.[5] They mainly performed music for light entertainment and dance but, between 1872 and 1878, Meissner also arranged 62 of what he called "Popular symphonic concerts".[6] These concerts presented a wide range of orchestral repertoire, often presenting both national and international contemporary composers.

Shortly after Meissner started his symphonic concerts Ludvig Norman, hofkapellmeister and conductor of Hovkapellet, started giving symphonic concerts at The Royal Theater. These concerts were given under the management of the theater as a part of the regular performances. The programs of the symphonic concerts arranged at The Royal Theater differed from the popular symphonic concerts at *Berns* in several ways. The theater had a long tradition of presenting programs with mixed vocal and instrumental pieces, whereas the *Berns* concerts only had instrumental music. Meissner's Symphonic concerts also presented a much more varied and up-to-date repertoire, while the concerts at the Royal Theater were more traditional, using much more reliable and well-known works. These circumstances were discussed in contemporary press, showing the different opinions on the art music repertoire and the status of these musical institutions.

The institutionalization of, and establishment of continuity within, musical life

Institutionalization was an important factor in the structural transformation of musical life. The concept of institutionalization refers to organizational and material factors as well as to social behavior. Sven-Eric Liedman maintains that, from the perspective of the history of ideas, an institution is a series of ideas that has become fixed in a set of rules and regulations, and even if the rules can change it is the resistance to such changes that makes the institution an institution.[7] An institution must have some permanence, be established for a certain purpose, have an unbroken tradition and have an inherent sluggishness, being both changeable and resistant in the same time.[8] Continuity is essential to Liedman's concept of an institution and is very much evident in the process of institutionalization in the context in which it is used here. As a concept associated with social practice, institutionalization is about habitual and repeated be-

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4   The Berns salon.
5   August Meissner, was born 1833 in Mecklenburg, and first came to Gothenbourg in 1855 to play in Josef Czapek's orchestra. In 1860, he became conductor at the New Theater in Helsinki, after which he got his position at Berns in 1869 where he stayed until 1895.
6   Martin Tegen, "August Meissner", in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* vol. 25, 331, available at https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SBL/Presentation.aspx?id=9242 (accessed 2016-04-18)
7   Sven-Erik Liedman, *I skuggan av framtiden: modernitetens idéhistoria*, (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1999), 51.
8   Liedman, *I skuggan av framtiden*, 212-216.

havior,[9] and refers in this context to the practice of going to and arranging concerts in a normative way (i.e. listening in silence, focusing on the music, applauding at certain points and so on).

In the institutionalization of concert life, continuity was a key factor; this continuity was attained by the establishment of permanent venues for musical performances and a regularity of concert performances. Concerts in Stockholm during the first half of the century were more or less occasional, with the exception of some concerts at The Royal Theater, and there were few venues for musical performances. The Royal Theater was, in essence, the only institutionalized musical establishment, with regular concert performances. This changed over the century, especially from the 1860s onward.

The steady increase in concert and musical performances was part of this change and demanded both changes in old institutions and the institutionalization of new ones. The old institutions, such as The Royal Theater, Hovkapellet, The Royal Swedish Academy of Music and the city's churches, changed to adapt to the new market that developed. The continuity was preserved within the institutions but a part of the activities was adapted to the market: because they all accepted external concert entrepreneurs, the stages were opened up for the bourgeoisie. Earlier, all the performances were part of the representative culture of the court and aristocracy but this change made the old institutions part of the bourgeoisie's public sphere.

One important process within the structural transformation of musical life was the division between an art music sphere and a lighter entertainment or popular music sphere. This was not something unique to the situation in Stockholm but a development occurring all over Europe. However, the division in Stockholm was not always clear cut as, for example, August Meissner's concerts at *Berns* and the symphonic concerts at The Royal Theater at the same time have shown. Both these musical establishments presented concerts of a similar kind, with the same sort of goals, but with very different conditions. The Royal Theater was an established high art institution, while *Berns* was an entertainment venue. This might have affected the way the repertoire was chosen; The Royal Theater had a well institutionalized repertoire and traditions of concert programming that were not so easily changed but *Berns*, on the other hand, did not have that and Meissner may have been more free to choose. Another reason why it might have been more difficult for Hovkapellet to put on new repertoire was the lack of time for rehearsals due to their responsibilities as an opera orchestra.

Who performed music? – professionalization and the balance between professionals and amateurs

As indicated earlier, many of the musicians performing and arranging concerts as private entrepreneurs in Stockholm were also employed by The Royal Theater. The Royal Theater was one of the few places where steady employment was possible for singers and musicians but this was also something that changed over time. Before the 1840s,

9   See Peter Bergman and Thomas Luckman, *The social construction of reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, (London: Penguin, 1991 [1966]), 70-82.

The Royal Theater had a monopoly on public theater performances, with the exception of a summer theater at Djurgården.[10] This monopoly was broken through the actions of a few private entrepreneurs and, from the 1840s on, several private theaters were established in Stockholm. Some of these theaters had singers and musicians employed permanently or engaged singers and musicians on a temporary basis. Theaters in general, therefore, became an important place of employment for music professionals and another important employer of musicians was the church but neither the private theaters nor the church had a large, fulltime musical staff. Restaurants and other places of amusement also employed musicians, but generally small ensembles and often from a day-to-day basis. The large, fulltime orchestra at *Berns* was, therefore, an exception.

Hovkapellet was, for most of the century, the only orchestra capable of performing symphonic repertoire. But, as the activities of the theater always had to come first, there were few opportunities for orchestral concerts. This not only affected the concerts of The Royal Theater but concert life as a whole. If anyone wanted to arrange a concert with symphonic music the best option was to engage the musicians of Hovkapellet. Hovkapellet played in concerts outside the theater from time to time but it had to be when the orchestra was not needed at the theater. It was not only Hovkapellet that was limited by obligations towards the employer; the orchestra at *Berns* had the same conditions. Sometimes, temporary orchestras were put together as a mix of professional and amateur musicians but, in this case, most of the professionals came from Hovkapellet.

Professional orchestras within the military also adapted to the new music market and gave public concerts. These were mainly brass bands but they could offer much of the same repertoire as the symphonic orchestras through arrangements of orchestral and operatic music. Most of the wind musicians of Hovkapellet were also military musicians, so the military bands were affected by the activities at The Royal Theater as well. Since wind music was especially suitable for outdoor performances, the summer became the most active time for many of these musicians. This was also a time when the theater was closed and the musicians were more available and audiences looked for other types of entertainment.

When it came to singers, most of the soloists were associated with The Royal Theater or some of the private theaters. Certain amateurs also gave solo performances in public concerts from time to time. Choirs, on the other hand, were primarily made up of amateur singers and belonged to a musical society or other association. The Royal Theater also had a choir that sometimes performed in concerts outside the theater and it was the only "professional" choir in Stockholm. When musical societies arranged public concerts, it was typically in collaboration with professional singers and musicians. Some musical societies also had orchestral divisions with amateur musicians but were often reinforced with professional musicians at public concerts.

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10   Djurgården, formerly The Royal Game Park, is an island in Stockholm that was a popular recreational area during the 19th century.

Joint efforts – collaborations between professionals and amateurs

Collaborations between professional and amateur musicians were something that characterized musical life in Stockholm and something that was observed and discussed by contemporary writers. Ludvig Norman wrote an article in 1853 with some observations on public music in Stockholm shortly after returning to Stockholm from his studies at the Leipzig Music Conservatory and before attaining the position as hofkapellmeister.[11] In this article he presented some thoughts on conditions within the city's musical life and how they could be improved. He draws attention to the fact that there were strong resources in Stockholm – "a good orchestra with a competent conductor, a well-managed lyrical stage, and a number of music lovers" – but that these resources could be managed much better.[12] He strongly recommended coordination of the available resources for production of great works of music. In his mind it was the responsibility of the hofkapellmeister to lead such projects and it could be facilitated by good organization. In his vision he put much faith in the music lovers of the city, whom he believed to be crucial to the success of these productions. What he was suggesting was to use amateur musicians to reinforce the professional singers and musicians to put together ensembles large enough. He was also confident that the musicians of Hovkapellet were willing to participate, without really considering the conditions under which they worked. He proposed that churches should be used as venues, that the performance should take place on spring holidays and that the price of tickets should be held low, all so that these concerts should be open to as many as possible. Norman imagined that such productions would have a positive effect on the musical life by heightening the *musical bildung* that, in turn, would remove the dilettantism that characterized music of contemporary musical performances. The *musical bildung* and dilettantism will be discussed further below.

The process of professionalization

This kind of collaboration occurred during the whole period under investigation here and Ludvig Norman worked his whole career to maintain it. Despite this, Norman and several other professional musicians expressed ambitions to carry through the professionalization of musical life; the ideal was to have a fully professionalized musical life not dependent on amateur contributions.

The process of professionalization was an important factor in the structural transformation of musical life. The word "profession" could simply mean the same as occupation, work or trade, but, as a concept used here, it is more narrowly defined as an occupation, the authority and status of which is based on formal higher education.[13]

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11   Ludvig Norman, "Några anmärkningar rörande offentlig musik i Stockholm", *Ny tidning för music* 3 (1853).
12   Norman, "Några anmärkningar rörande offentlig musik i Stockholm".
13   "Profession", *Nationalencyklopedin online*, http://www.ne.se.ezproxy.its.uu.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/ lång/profession (accessed 2016-04-21).

Professionalization is the process that an occupation goes through to become a profession:

> [...]Professionalization involves the formation of an occupation, on one hand, and interrelated developments regarding the social division of labor, structures of authority, and sociocultural inequality, on the other. Historical research on professionalization concentrates on such issues as the distribution of scarce resources at a particular point in time, the social definition of behavioral prerogatives, and the regulation of central values and functions. It is concerned with the motives, interests, and strategies of actors who either promote or hinder processes of professionalization.[14]

Many participants in the public debate on the state of musical life show these types of motives, interests and strategies that were used to promote the process of professionalization. This process can be studied both sociologically and historically and the approaches differ somewhat. Within sociology, the concept of professionalism is much more fixed and is based on certain criteria, whereas the concept within the historical tradition is much less determined but emphasizes societal and historical differences.[15] In the context in which it is used here, professionalization is a historical process that is affected by elements in society. The actions, motives and strategies of agents within musical life are studied from a professionalization perspective to analyze this process. It is the process itself here that is in focus and not the end result.

Higher musical education as a part of the process of professionalization

This process was manifested differently in various areas of musical life. Musical education was an area that became very important in the process of professionalization. In the beginning of the century, professional education in music was provided through a sort of guild system or provided within the musical institutions themselves (the theater for singers, the military for brass musicians and so on) and Hovkapellet also

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14   Hannes Siegrist, "Professionalization/Professions in History", *Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral sciences*, Neil J. Smelser och Paul B. Baltes (ed) (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science, 2001).

15   The process of professionalization can be studied through a model presented by Harold Wilensky which is based on five stages: 1) the activity becomes a full time occupation, 2) the question of training arises and a demand for establishment of educational institutions, 3) those that have gone through training combine to form a professional association, 4) efforts will be made to get law support to protect the area, which includes further defining of the area of competence and the questions of licensing and certification, and 5) a formal code of ethics is formulated, where rules are gathered to eliminate the unqualified, reduce the risks for internal competition, protect clients and emphasize service ideals. (Harold Wilensky, "The professionalization of everyone", *American magazine of Sociology*, vol 70, no 2 (September 1964), 142-146.) This model has been a basis for much previous research in professionalization, but it has also been criticized. Rolf Torstendahl, who has done much research in professionalization in Sweden, states that because Wilensky's model has a sociological and contemporary aim rather than historical, the idea of a common professionalization process is not relevant in a historical context as processes within different occupations show much variation. (Rolf Torstendahl, "Har professionerna sin framtid bekom sig – eller har de bytt innehåll?", *Att göra historia: en vänbok till Christina Florin*, Maria Sjöberg och Yvonne Svanström (red.) (Stockholm 2008), 172–173)

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recruited many musicians from abroad. At the same time, the market grew with the
demand for musical education within the aristocracy and later the bourgeoisie. Music
schools thereby focused primarily on an amateur market. Toward the middle of the
century, professional musical education was mainly available abroad and many mu-
sicians and singers left the country to study at the music conservatories in Paris and
Leipzig which were popular destinations for these studies. The demand for specialized
and organized professional training was a definite step in the process of professionali-
zation and was emphasized by contemporary writers.

Within The Royal Swedish Academy of Music there had been an ambition to pro-
vide an organized higher education in music from the start. However, this proved dif-
ficult to accomplish. In the beginning of the century there were relatively few possi-
bilities for employment as musicians or singers. Together with a tradition of musical
families with education within these families and the practice of importing musicians
there was no market for this type of education. The demand for organized education
came from the amateur side and this was what the academy initially offered. The high-
er education originally offered at the academy was mainly concentrated on church
music. The first fifty years of music education at the academy was held back by in-
sufficient funding, commitment and organization. The lack of funding had much to
do with the direction that the education had taken: following the market and not the
original aim. The funding from the court was reduced as the focus had shifted toward
an education for the daughters of the bourgeoisie rather than a higher education that
could provide for society's need for professional musicians. The solution to this prob-
lem became the exclusion of women students,[16] as their education was understood as
lacking a professional goal. In 1824 the economic situation settled as the academy got
a yearly government grant to provide musical education. This gave the institution the
stability necessary for it to reconcile itself with its founding aims. Gradually, instruc-
tion on more and more instruments was introduced, as well as training in orchestra-
tion, composition and music history, and the number of students and teachers slowly
increased. The education at the academy was, despite this, for a long time limited to
professions like organists, cantors and music teachers, professions that had the most
obvious connection to the needs of society. The Royal Theater trained its own singers
and its musicians were typically trained in orchestras or educated abroad. Therefore,
the academy still did not really live up to their original intentions that were instead
to provide a higher education for opera singers, orchestral and soloist musicians, con-
ductors and composers. The market for music professionals started to change and ex-
pand from the 1840s and new needs for musicians arose within society. This, together
with influences from international music education, caused a wave of criticism aimed
at the academy's education for not living up to its purpose. This criticism became a re-
current topic in music magazines and newspapers around the middle of the century.
These critical articles mark an important stage in the professionalization process as it

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16   The Academy was not re-opened to female students again until the institution's reorganisation in
      1856.

called for specialized education within more parts of musical life. Something that is stressed in several articles is the economic foundation of the education, emphasizing that strong government funding was necessary to achieve what was asked for.

The educational institution of The Royal Swedish Academy of Music was reorganized in 1855 after the question of increased funding had been raised in the Swedish parliament, or Riksdagen.[17] Following this, a committee was appointed to work on a proposal for the reorganization and the funding needed to proceed. The committee was made up of a mix of professional musicians, public officials and barons and they presented a proposal that included a division of the educational institution into two departments, one for church musicians and one for artists. The difference between these departments lay in the level of musical education, skill and amount of music performance in the final jobs. The church musicians, who included organists, cantors and parish clerks, performed music as part of their service but they also had other tasks. Furthermore, the music that they performed was relatively simple and did not require a very high degree of musical education. The artists, who included musicians, conductors, choirmasters and music teachers, needed a much more versatile and higher musical education instead. This shows a shift in the status of different musical positions and a stage in the professionalization process. Education became an important aspect in discussion of the status of different musical occupations and became a way to legitimize and separate the musical professions from the amateur music scene. The question of funding became a part of this process as well, as government funding also gave legitimacy to the profession. The public debate on the reorganization of the academy was very lively and in 1856 new statutes for the academy were presented. The new music conservatory was organized in two departments: the higher and the lower. The higher department would provide education for musicians for the theater, the school and the church, music teachers and artists, whereas the lower department would train organ players and cantors. The lower would offer training in harmony, choral singing, organ- and piano playing while the higher offered training in harmony, choral singing, organ, violin, piano, cello, double bass and wind instrument playing, solo singing, score reading, composition, instrumentation, music history and aesthetics. Through reorganization, the conservatory of the academy finally offered the higher musical education that was needed for a professional musical life. The need for importing musicians decreased markedly and so did the need for education abroad, even if musicians still did travel for further training.

Specialization within the musical field

The musical labor market grew as musical life expanded. Music professions that existed throughout the period were mainly opera singers, orchestra, military and church musicians and music teachers. As the process of the professionalization of musical life went on, music professions became increasingly specialized and more music profes-

17   The Swedish parliament.

sions developed. For example, opera singers were gradually separated from the acting profession and became a specialized field (earlier, many singers did both opera and drama). Also, education within The Royal Theater became specialized and a separate singing academy was established at the opera. Within the orchestra, the work of the conductor became more and more separated from that of the musicians, which made the conductor more significant in the artistic process.

Composition was another area that changed during this period even if there was no composer profession as such. Composition had always been a side activity, both in amateur and professional contexts. No composers devoted themselves entirely to composition but had to have other work as well; often composition was a part of the job as a musician, conductor or teacher. But even the area of composition was gradually professionalized and specialized within the musical life of Stockholm and an important factor in this was the possibility for organized training in composition.

Another occupation that went through this process was that of writers within the music field who became more and more professional and specialized. Writing on musical topics and aspects of musical life was possible in specialized music magazines as well as in newspapers, books and offprints. This was a wide field that included writings on music history, theory, pedagogy, teaching material, encyclopedic contributions and music criticism. There was also a more scientific side and here musicology slowly developed with research generally focused on music history and aesthetics although, in the late 19th century, music theory began to be treated more scientifically.

Sten Dahlstedt has shown that writing on music was principally a product of the book and newspaper industry and only to a small extent connected to the universities and The Royal Swedish Academy of Music.[18] It was also an activity that was generally combined with some other occupation, both inside and outside the music field. These writers could be musicians, music teachers, organists, public officials or something else but chose also to express themselves through writing. Over time, these writers became more and more specialized and the number of music professionals increased while the number of non-music professional writers decreased. It took time for writing on music to become a fulltime profession and there were only exceptional cases of this in the 19th century. But the publishing industry became an important area within musical life and promoted the processes of professionalization and institutionalization through offering a place for public debate on music.

The press as a forum for public debate on music and musical life

The daily press in Stockholm flourished from the 1830s onwards after the establishment of *Aftonbladet*, a liberal newspaper published in Stockholm which came to serve as a model for other papers established later. The newspaper market grew steadily during subsequent decades and music soon became regularly featured. Music entered the

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18   Sten Dahlstedt, *Fakta och förnuft: svensk akademisk musikforskning 1909-1941* (Diss. Göteborg: [Department of musicology, Univ.], 1986), 34.

newspapers primarily through concert reviews but also through announcements by The Royal Swedish Academy of Music and advertisements for sheet music, music books, instruments and music tuition. Occasionally, commentaries on the structures of musical life also appeared. From the 1850s, the number of concert advertisements increased, which suggests an increase in public concerts at this time. In the beginning, general culture critics wrote music criticism but soon, specialized music critics took over.

Until the 1850s, music criticism had a looser place in the structure of the newspapers. Reviews and comments on music could be placed at different places in the papers and almost never had special headlines. One thing that did appear in the same place early on was the advertisement for The Royal Theater, which consisted of small announcements about current repertoire. From the 1850s on, announcements of opera and concert performances, concert programs as well as lighter entertainment increased and the advertisements were also generally placed on the front page. Reviews and other comments on music and musical performances also got more established places in the papers under a specific headline – "Music" or "Theater and music" – most often on the second or third page (depending on the paper).

Music was discussed not only in newspapers but also in music magazines. Before the middle of the century, a few attempts at establishing music magazines in Sweden had been made. These tended to be one-man ventures and titles rarely survived for long. But with the foundation of *Stockholms musiktidning* (Stockholm's Music Magazine) in the 1840s, the music press began to recruit more staff and publish more original material. Throughout the 19th century, Stockholm's music magazines came to follow the models set by the important international music magazines. Their material consisted of essays, biographical information about composers and performers, reviews and advertisements and much of this was translated from international music magazines.

During the 1850s, the thriving music press was dominated by the successor of *Stockholms musiktidning*, *Ny tidning för musik* (The New Magazine for Music,1853–57), with *Tidning för theater och musik* (The Magazine for Theatre and Music) hot on its heels. The latter two magazines cover most of the 1850s and offer unique insight into the period. They are characterized by critical debate about music life led by a number of writers who would later gain prominent positions within public musical life. Some of these writers had just come back from musical studies abroad, mainly at the Leipzig music conservatory, and the influence of this is evident. The debate focused greatly on the state of musical life and how it could be improved to reach international standards.

The full institutionalization of the Swedish music press was brought about in 1880 with the foundation of Sweden's first long-term music magazine, *Svensk musiktidning* [the Swedish Music Magazine], published between 1880 and 1913. The establishment of a professional music press was thus a lengthy process. Nevertheless, the many attempts show the determination among publishers and writers to overcome the difficulties they were facing in creating a strong music press.

Critique of the music criticism

Music criticism became an important field within musical writing and as it acquired a permanent place within the press the question of the purpose of criticism and the role of the critic arose. In 1849 Abraham Mankell[19] wrote a long commentary on the aesthetics of music where he also discussed the state of music criticism.[20] In this text, he objects to the fact that criticism was too often written by people who had no real musical knowledge and who used technical terms to disguise this lack. He also states that many readers did not realize the difference between educated and uneducated critics. He notes that one aspect of music criticism should be versatility because music has different effects on different people and points to the problem that, despite this fact, music criticism is often raised to "universally valid judgements". He suggests instead that music should not be judged by personal taste but by "the theoretical rules from which it was created". He also suggests that criticism has a power to affect music by being both constructive and instructive, thereby helping to improve the music – although he maintains that no such reviews were written in Sweden.

A few years after Mankell wrote his book, another interesting character, Albert Rubenson,[21] also commented on the state of music criticism. In an article in *Ny tidning för music*, Rubenson emphasizes that the task of the critic was to give as detailed judgments as possible and thereby in some way make up for the lack of music schools and competent teachers.[22] Rubenson is here much more explicit than Mankell in his view of the purpose of criticism. Many critics followed their lead and the aim of music criticism changed toward an educating function which purpose was to educate the general public in musical matters. In order to educate, music critics themselves needed a solid education in music theory and history as well as a talent for music.

This coincided with another step in the professionalization process within the musical press. The writers were, to a great extent, people within the music profession; several of them were important musicians, composers and teachers and this was reflected in the way they discussed the music. They saw themselves as superior to the public and it was their responsibility to educate the people in order that they improve as an audience and in time learn to demand a more advanced musical life. Music criticism changed even more towards the end of the century when the educational ideals were,

19 Abraham Mankell was born in Germany in 1802 and moved to Sweden in 1823. He worked as an organist, music teacher, writer and composer in Stockholm and wrote extensively on different musical subjects, amongst other things one of the first books on music history in Swedish.
20 Abraham Mankell, *Blickar i musikens inre helgedom: ett bidrag till tonkonstens ästhetik* (Stockholm: 1849).
21 Albert Rubenson was born in Stockholm 1826 and in 1844-48 he studied with Moritz Haupmann, Niels Gade and Ferdinand David in Leipzig. When he returned to Stockholm in the beginning of the 1850s he first worked mostly as a critic (he seems to have been economically independent) and later got the position of headmaster of the conservatory at The Royal Academy of music.
22 R-n [Albert Rubenson], "Om den musikaliska kritiken i våra dagblad", *Ny tidning för music* 49 & 50 (1854).

to a large extent, laid to rest, giving way to more individual and subjective judgments. Examples of this are found in the writings of Adolf Lindgren.[23]

In an article in the daily newspaper *Aftonbladet*, Lindgren presents his view on the purpose of criticism after he had himself been criticized for being thoughtless and disrespectful in his reviews.[24] Lindgren countered by stressing that we should not confuse the role of the critic with the role of the teacher, which shows how far from Mankell and Rubenson he is.[25] He also maintains that a sharp language is necessary and that it is not a question of thoughtlessness and disrespectfulness. Another thing he brings up is that it is not at all necessary for a critic to be an artist himself in order to judge art. In fact, he emphasizes that he can't write music himself. In a follow-up article Lindgren introduces his manifesto.[26] In this he states that criticism must rest on absolute ideals, that it should be relevant for music and that it should mainly be about stating facts and leaving the final judgment to the reader. He explicitly states that the critic should never teach but could warn those making the music against mistakes.

This shows a totally different attitude toward music criticism than earlier. Lindgren was neither a musician, nor a music teacher nor a composer but a music critic. The notion that the views of music critics were superior to those of the audience or musicians thereby changed in the mid-1870s in favor of more democratic tendencies.

The development of the music press created a new forum for public debate about music. Public music criticism highlighted, discussed, praised and criticized musical performances and thereby created a space for ideas about music and its place and function within the public sphere.

The significance of Bildung *in the structural transformation of musical life*

In this study I try to shed some light on the underlying causes of the processes of change within Sweden's musical life. One interesting aspect of this is the significance

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23   Lindgren was born in Sweden in 1846. He later got a degree from Uppsala University and then worked solely as a music critic and editor of music magazines. He was the first and really the only critic during the 19th century to make a living solely within the musical press. He was also the most important music critic in his time and wrote for almost all important newspapers and music magazines.

24   "Om musikalisk kritik: en kritik öfver kritiker", *Aftonbladet*, May 23 1876.

25   A.L. [Adolf Lindgren] "Om musikalisk kritik: Till den nye kritikern öfver kritiker: I", *Aftonbladet*, May 23 1876.

26   A.L. [Adolf Lindgren], "Om musikalisk kritik och estetisk kritik i allmänhet: till den nye kritikern öfver kritiker: II", *Aftonbladet*, May 27 1876. 1) The critic must maintain absolute ideals to work as a standard for his judgments. 2) These ideals must be visible. 3) The judgements must be relevant to the character of the music (i.e. you could not judge operatic music on the same grounds as symphonic music). 4) The critics should only present facts and leave the real verdict to the reader. 5) Critics can only tell how something should not be done, rather than how it should be done, and therefore had to be predominantly negative. 6) As criticism is about making judgements, and judgements are acts of thought, the critic can't reawake the same impressions as the artwork itself – it is both impossible and unnecessary. 7) All thoughts, ideas, and emotions that are expressed by language must be sharp, in the sense of being acute and logically clear. He maintains that there is a big difference between sharpness and roughness.

of the ideas and ideals of *bildung*,[27] a concept that flourished especially within the "educated" or "cultured" classes – an increasingly important part social stratum. I will here point out some aspects that show the significance of *bildung* in the structural transformation of musical life.

The concept of *bildung* had its origin in 18th century Germany but was introduced into Sweden in the beginning of the 19th century through the German new humanism. The inspiration for this promotion of knowledge came from the idea of Greek antiquity, and it gave rise to a great debate on knowledge and education. In Sweden, Erik Gustaf Geijer and Esaias Tegnér became central characters in the debate during the first half of the century and they both emphasized the importance of a broad humanist education that furthered a quest for knowledge that could serve the development of personality and character.[28] The educational system in Sweden in the beginning of the 18th century did not live up to the demands of the new society that developed; an extensive work on a reform of the educational system started in the 1820s and 1830s in which both Geijer and Tegnér came to play an important part. The educational reforms proceeded at all levels, from elementary school to university, and an elementary school for all citizens was introduced in 1842 (even if that was criticized for being more about controlling the lower classes rather than being about *bildung*). Alongside the official educational institutions, other educational societies and associations developed that also provided their members with a broad scientific, aesthetic and social education, i.e. *bildung*.

Music and bildung

The educational situation within the music sphere has been discussed previously but, as has been shown here, it was part of a greater process in society at large. The educational reforms within musical life were, to a great degree, not only about establishing professional education but also about raising the level of *bildung* in both the general public and the profession as well.

The educational and enriching function of music was increasingly emphasized in the 19th century and this, in turn, boosted the interest for playing and listening to music within the bourgeoisie. One of the important aspects of *bildung* was the growth of a person's character and central to this was "aesthetic contemplation". This notion meant that "music was meant not merely to be 'enjoyed', but to be 'understood'", as Dahlhaus puts it in his *Nineteenth-Century Music*.[29] In order to do this, the listeners had to pay the music full attention in silence and a new mode of behavior started

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27   The word "bildning" is notoriously hard to translate. In Swedish (and the other scandinavian languages) and German, bildning/bildung is separated from utbildning/ausbildung, which it is not in the English word "education". Hence, *Bildung* not only referres to education, but a more general self-cultivation or self-improvement.

28   See Anders Burman and Per Sundgren [eds.], *Bildning: texter från Esaias Tegnér till Sven-Eric Liedman*, (Stockholm: Didalos, 2010), 12-18.

29   Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, J. Bradford Robinson [trans.] (Berkeley: University of California press 1989), 50.

to evolve (it having been customary to carry on conversations and moving around in the room while music was being played). This was one of the contributing factors to the division between music as art and as entertainment. Art music became an object for aesthetic contemplation and this affected the way of listening. The boundaries between art music and popular music were, at this time, quite blurred and it is not so easy to draw exact boundaries – much depended on the context in which the music was being performed.

Thoughts on the aim and level of *musical bildung* [musikaliska bildningen] were discussed in several debate articles in Swedish newspapers and music magazines, as well as in other types of publications, especially in the 1840s and 1850s. Of course, this type of discussion was not unique for Stockholm but was something that can be observed elsewhere as well. The interesting thing here is that we can follow the process within the more isolated case of Stockholm and thereby study the effects in the structural transformation of the capital's musical life.

During the mid 19th-century a notion of a certain musical *bildung* and canon was crystallized in Sweden. This notion was mainly based on the ideas presented in the musical idealist movement that had risen in Leipzig around the periodicals *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and *Neue musikalische Zeitung* during the first half of the century. William Weber's concept of "musical idealism" can usefully be applied here.[30] The ideas formed within the music idealist movement were gradually implemented in the public debate on musical education and musical knowledge in Stockholm. These ideas were merged with the ideas of *bildung* and came to form a sort of standard of which music was worth knowing or not. The musical press that flourished in Sweden in the 1850s played a very important role in presenting and disseminating these ideas.

Allmän musikalisk bildning – "*General*" *musical* bildung

Allmän musikalisk bildning (general musical bildung) is a term that is used frequently in the debate and is discussed in several Swedish sources especially from the 1840s and 1850s. The idea of a "general" musical *bildung* was a combination of practical musical skills, knowledge of the musical repertoire (or canon) as well as knowing how to appreciate music in a certain way, all in tune with the ideals of the music idealist movement. The general criticism put forward in writings on this topic is that the level of general musical *bildung* within the country was relatively low.

It is evident that the ideas of *bildung* lay at the foundation of these publications from early on. In the editor's note in the first issue of *Stockholms musiktidning* published in 1843, the writer touches upon this as providing one of the motivations behind the establishment of the magazine:

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30   See for example: William Weber, "Wagner, Wagnerism, and musical idealism", *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics*, David Large and William Weber (ed.) (Ithaca: Cornell University press 1984); and William Weber, *The great transformation of musical taste: concert programming from Haydn to Brahms* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

> Although Music as an Artform has made great progress, at least in some direc-
> tions, in Sweden [the Fatherland] in these last years, it is not uncommon to hear
> complaints from the true lovers of music that we in general have not reached far
> into the great and florid field of musical bildung.[31]

His explanation for this is the lack of "forums for the exchanges of ideas and views on
musical art and all its expressions". What he means by this is the lack of a music maga-
zine and a public debate in the field of music. He explains this by the "linguistic isola-
tion and the northerners' tendency to rather receive than to give fine art as well as an
unwillingness to make an effort". The purpose of the magazine was, therefore, to help
raise the level of the general musical *bildung* by offering a forum for public debate on
music. This was to be accomplished by competent writers and access to foreign peri-
odicals. It is also evident here that the magazine was not only directed to professionals
in the musical field, but to "the public" (meaning the educated classes). It is clear here
that musical *bildung* was not only something of concern to professionals but was im-
portant for everyone.

The role of women

Another critical commentary focusing on general musical *bildung* is found in Johan
Fröberg's publication *Några ord om de sköna konsternas betydelse med egentlig afseende på
musiken och dess vård inom fäderneslandet* published in connection with the reorgani-
zation of the conservatory at the academy of music.[33] Here, Fröberg points out that
"music, as a subject of education, but mostly as a fashionable thing, had been widely
spread." By this, he means that it was popular to engage in musical activities but with-
out making demands on actual knowledge and education. He states that music for a
long time had been a compulsory subject within all forms of education (from elemen-
tary school to university as well as music schools), but that this subject had been treat-
ed "unfairly". He criticizes the academy of music for only being an "elementary school
for organists". He also points out the low status of music at the university, which he
thinks says a lot about the state of music in the country (if it was not seen as impor-
tant in the university, it would not be seen as such anywhere else either).

Another interesting aspect he touches is the influence of women on the musical
bildung.

> […] with the exception of singing, it has nevertheless in reality fallen to women
> to give musical *bildung* a more general use. For, by an odd nick of fate – or may-

31   "Oaktad de framsteg, åtminstone i en viss riktigning, som Tonkonsten i sednare tider inom Fäder-
      neslandet onekligen gjort; hör man ändock icke sällan från dess sanna vänner den klagan, att vi, i
      allmänhet, ännu ej hunnit in på den verkliga musikaliska bildningens stora och blomsterrika fält".
      [Editors note], *Stockholms musiktidning* 1 (1843).
32   "Some words on the significance of the fine arts, with actual reference to music and its preservation
      in the fatherland"
33   Johan Fröberg, *Några ord om de sköna konsternas betydelse med egentlig afseende på musiken och dess vård
      inom fäderneslandet* (Uppsala: 1855).

be rather by natural causes – music has yet become an important part of a girl's
education, where, for the boy or young man, it is generally seen as a subject of
minor importance in which he is allowed to indulge casually, if time and other
circumstances permit.[34]

With this, he notes that music is a much more important part of a woman's education
than for men and that the biggest problem was that music was not treated as an edu-
cational subject, but a form of entertainment. He doesn't value the education of men
over women explicitly, but he maintains that as it was not any form of higher musical
education, no real *bildung*, it had a bad effect on the music that is being played as it was
treated as mostly light entertainment. The popular repertoire being played, according to
Fröberg, mainly comprised virtuoso pieces or simpler dance music and galant pieces and
the classical masters were commonly maltreated by both professionals and amateurs.

Fröberg also makes the connection to the state of music criticism and maintains
that the opinion of the general public concerning what is required to judge art also
demonstrates the low status of the *bildung*.

Then what was "good music"?

The discourse on musical *bildung* consequently involves notions of "good and bad
music" – which can be understood in the light of the idea of aesthetic contemplation
and the music idealism. Albert Rubenson, while residing in Copenhagen, writes in a
correspondence article for the magazine *Ny tidning för music* the following:

> […] If we therefore agree that the fondness for good music is motivated not by
> any greater education of the tonal sense but by the intellectual cultivation in
> general of the individual, then it is not the case of an audience – a people. The
> Danish people are, as I said, not musical in any great sense; but they have a high
> degree of general bildung. No dilettantism flourishes here, and therefore here is
> made only little – but *only good music*. – The lack of quantity can be explained to
> a great degree by the lack of an opera.[35]

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34   "[…]med undantag af sången är det likväl egentligen qvinnan som hittills fått på sin lott, att här
     i Sverige bereda den musikaliska bildningen en allmännare spridning. Ty af en besynnerlig ödets
     skickelse – eller kanhända snarare af ganska naturliga orsaker – har musiken, oaktadt det mörker
     som ännu råder i uppfattningen af dess väsende och ändmål, likväl lyckas blifva upptagen såsom en
     ganska väsendtlig beståndsdel i flickans bildning, då den deremot för gossen och yngligen i allmän-
     het anses såsom ett underordnadt ämne, hvaraf han dock tillåtes taga en flyktig kännedom, ifall tid
     och öfriga omständigheter medgifva." Fröberg, *Några ord om de sköna konsternas betydelse*, 9.
35   "Om vi derföre kunna komma öfverens om, att förkärleken för god musik föranledes, icke af den större
     utbildningen af tonsinnet, men af den intellektuella bildningen i allmänhet hos individen, så är detta
     visst icke mindre fallet hos en publik, ett folk. – Det danska folket är, som sagdt, icke musikaliskt i någon
     högre grad; men det eger mycken allmän bildning. Här grasserar intet dilettantskap, det göres derföre
     blott litet – men endast god mus na komma öfverens om, att förkärleken för god musik föranledes, icke
     af den större utbildningen af tonsinnet, men af den intellektuella bildningen i allmänhet hos individen,
     så är detta visst icke mindre fallet hos en publik, ett folk. – Det danska folket är, som sagdt, icke musika-
     liskt i någon högre grad; men det eger mycken allmän bildning. Här grasserar intet dilettantskap, det
     göres derföre blott litet – men endast god musik. – Att qvantiteten är så ringa, har till stor del sin grund

He criticizes the Swedish people by comparing them to the Danish, whom he main-
tains have a greater musical *bildung* in general. The connection between dilettantism
and *bildung*, both general and musical, is central to Rubenson's text (as well as in oth-
er texts). The lack of education is here used as an argument to criticize the musical
taste and concert programming in Stockholm, with the intention to highlight a more
worthy repertoire strongly influenced by the music idealist movement in Leipzig. Ru-
benson was, at this time, studying privately with Gade after having studied in Leipzig
so he is clearly influenced by this experience.

The problem of dilettantism

The problem of dilettantism recurs in several contributions to the critical debate on the
state of musical life, and the concept was frequently used in a derogatory and criticiz-
ing way. Rubenson focuses much attention on the effect of dilettantism on the musical
life in Stockholm. Dilettantism is connected much to the notion of *bildung* – it being
sort of a contrary position. At the center of this is the intention behind the activity as
well as the depth of knowledge. The concept (dilettantism) is, in this context regarding
both Rubenson and others, used as a catchphrase in the music idealist movement.

Rubenson defined this concept in an article in *Ny tidning för musik* in 1855 where
he uses it to account for the general problems within musical life.[36] Rubenson points
out that the original meaning of this term was as the opposite of professional: a dilet-
tante is someone who plays music as a leisure activity rather than as an occupation.
However, the original meaning had gradually changed and the opposite of dilettante
was no longer "professional" but "artist". Moreover, according to Rubenson, the con-
cepts of artist and professional are unrelated to each other. The difference lies in deter-
mination and objectivity.

> […] The artist has a determined attitude, founded on studies and on the ambi-
> tion of a determined path to a determined goal; the dilettante lacks this. Sensual
> elements are of minor importance for the artist; the spirit of the piece is more
> essential.
>
> It is the opposite for the dilettante; he enjoys everything that *sounds*, con-
> stantly calls for *melody* (of which he understands that which for everyone is im-
> mediately comprehensible and catchy), without any consideration of the more
> or less noble spirit of the piece or the *melody*. The artist understands and enjoys
> music, which here concerns *instrumental* music *as such*; the *musical* act is enough
> for him. The dilettante derives everything from his own subjectivity and ascribes
> to the tonal creations an arbitrary objective meaning.
>
> *Dilettantisch* is the theoretically and technically incompetent; that lacking in-
> dividuality, the uncommitted perception of the text in songs, as well as changes

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i saknaden af en opera ik. – Att qvantiteten är så ringa, har till stor del sin grund i saknaden af en opera"
Sign. R-n. [Albert Rubenson], "Köpenhamn", *Ny tidning för music* 22&23 (1853), 8.

36   R-n [Rubenson], "Replik", *Ny tidning för musik* 4 (1855). This article is a contribution to the debate
    on the state of music criticism but also refers to a problem that concerns musical life in its entirety.

to the works of others that could not claim the designation of *arrangement*. Dilettantism in this sense has obtained a regrettable dominance in this country. In spite of the intended or pretended idolization of a few older classicists, people are generally content with far too little in the way of new phenomena, at least as far as the national is concerned (the better of them, those who show an *artistic standpoint* are, as has been said, outside the visual field of the dilettante).[37]

This shows a recurrent position of Rubenson's and is very much about what makes music art. The characteristic of the dilettante, who can be compared to someone uncultured or lacking in *bildung*, was an uneducated and unreflecting attitude towards music. This attitude caused people to prefer music, bad music, that did not require any intellectual effort.

The reason that this was such a problem in Rubenson's mind was that this attitude was so dominant in Sweden. He connects this to the level of general musical *bildung*. In an article in *Ny tidning för musik* in 1857 Rubenson expressly discusses the effect of dilettantism on the level of musical *bildung*.[38] Here, he points out that the number of concerts had risen, but also that a great deal of these productions were performed by "beginners and dilettantes". As the programs for these concerts were composed "without taste and discrimination," these concerts have an injurious effect on the general musical *bildung*. The principal point of this discussion is that concert life was too dominated by dilettantism and that it had a strong effect on the general musical *bildung*. The problem was not that dilettantes existed, but that they had so much influence. He maintains that the general musical bildung was affected by the dilettantism within concert life and that this, in turn, affected music criticism since the critics "were trained within that musical life".

Rubenson was not the only one to have this opinion of the effects of dilettantism on the general musical *bildung*; for example, Ludvig Norman also supports this in related articles.[39] These comments show how interconnected these factors were, and how important the repertoire was for the structures within musical life.

37 "Konstnären har en bestämd ståndpunkt, grundad på studier och på sträfvandet på en bestämd väg till ett bestämdt mål; dilettanten saknar en sådan. För konstnären har det sinnliga elementet en underordnad betydelse; andan i musikstycket är det vigtigaste. Hos dilettanten tvertom; han njuter af allt som endast klingar, ropar beständigt på melodi (hvarmed han förstår det för hvar och en ögonblickligt fattliga och i minnet sig fästande), utan afseende på den mer eller mindre ädla andan I musikstycket eller «melodien.» Konstnären förstår och njuter af musik, hvarmed här närmast förstås instrumental-musik)[sic.] som sådan; den musikaliska handlingen är för honom nog. Dilettanten härför allt till sin egen subjektivitet och tillägger tonskapelserna en medlande objektiv betydelse. Dilettantiskt kallas inom den skapande konsten det teoretiskt och tekniskt oskickliga, den bristande individualiteten, den lösliga uppfattningen af text vid sångkomposition, äfvensom sådana förändringar af andras verk, hvilka icke kunna göra anspråk på benämningen: arrangement. Dilettantismen i denna betydelse har hos oss erhållit ett beklagligt herravälde. Man är, oaktadt all menad eller låtsad förgudning af några få, äldre klassici, i allmänhet nöjd med alldeles för litet i allt hvad nya företeelser, isynnerhet inhemska beträffar; (de bättre bland dem, de hvilka vittna om en konstnärlig ståndpunkt, ligga, som sagdt, utom dilettantismens synkrets), […]" R-n [Rubenson], "Replik", *Ny tidning för music* 4 (1855).
38 R-n. [Rubenson], "Tankar om våra Concerförhållanden", *Ny tidning för music* 28 (1857).
39 See Ludvig Norman "Några anmärkningar rörande offentlig musik i Stockholm", *Ny tidning för musik* 1 (1853).

Here I have only picked out a few examples of the role of, and contemporary discussion about, *bildung*, but what I want to argue here is that this played a very important part in the structural transformation of musical life in Stockholm during this period.

These writers were all working in some professional capacity within Stockholm's musical life. They emphasize the generally low musical knowledge, all in some sort of attempt to change the actual situation. Musical *bildung* is used as a motivation to change and it is often used in comparison to the situation abroad by mostly looking at the musical cities of Germany but also Denmark as we have seen. These writers assert themselves both as members of the educated class and as professionals within a developing field. The ideas of *bildung* are therefore both an expression of ideals and a way to further the writers' own situations.

The tension between market and ideals

In the beginning of the 19th century, musical life in Stockholm existed almost entirely within the representational culture, it centered around the royal musical institutions and it was something that mainly concerned the aristocracy and the highest social stratum. Musicians were imported from abroad or belonged to musician families and the only professional musical education was provided for church musicians and music teachers; possibilities for concerts were few due to the lack of a freestanding orchestra and concert hall. Toward the end of the century, the situation was totally different. The royal musical institutions were still important but no longer alone on the market and the context in which they operated was very different. There were many more possibilities for work for professional musicians and singers and a consequent expanded range of musical higher education. There were several orchestras and music institutions and music was played in public daily. Musical life was a part of the bourgeois public sphere and something that concerned a much larger part of the general public.

This structural transformation within musical life was connected to large societal changes in social structures, politics, consumption of culture and entertainment and much more. Musical life adapted to correspond to the demands of entertainment, *bildung* and space for social interaction of the bourgeoisie. The most important factors within musical life and the musical market that had developed were public musical performances, music publications, the practitioners and the constitution and interest of the audience.

The ideals of *bildung* were cultivated within the bourgeoisie that comprised both the general public and professional musicians. During this period, ideas of a particular musical *bildung* emerged, to a great extent connected to the ideals of the music idealist movement that developed in Leipzig, and were spread through music magazines such as *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. These ideals were gradually implemented in the public debate on musical *bildung* in Stockholm. The press market and the music magazines that began to develop from the 1840s and flourished in the 1850s became an important means for the circulation of these ideas. Within this complex of ideas, a certain repertoire was given a higher status that be-

came a guideline for the ideas of musical *bildung*. The connection between the level of *bildung* and the dilettantism within musical life is often stressed in the public debate. This is also connected to the processes of professionalization and institutionalization. Consequently, musical life was formed in the interplay between professional musicians and singers, musical institutions, the market for public entertainment, the public, the audience, musical societies, amateur musicians and a complex web of ideas and ideals.

Abstract

During the period 1840 to 1890, musical life in Stockholm saw the transition of concert life from representational culture to the bourgeois public sphere and the gradual division between 'classical' and 'popular' musical spheres. This article presents a brief overview of the state of public musical life in Stockholm, how concert life changed during the period 1840 to 1890 among performers and audiences and in the press and how the old royal institutions, while remaining at the core of public musical life, were adapted to the new bourgeois society. The article also focuses on the concept of bildung and demonstrates the significance of this in the processes of institutionalization and professionalization within musical life.

THOMAS SOLOMON

The Play of Colors:
Staging Multiculturalism in Norway

Fargespill is a series of periodic musical performances in Norway that have been staged from 2004 to the present. Each performance consists of a sequence of musical and dance numbers performed by children and youth from different minority and immigrant groups, many of whom came to Norway as refugees, together with white Norwegian (so-called *etnisk norsk* – "ethnic Norwegian") children and youth, and accompanied by an instrumental ensemble composed primarily of professional white Norwegian musicians. With recent theorizations of multiculturalism and critical discussions of race and racism in Norway as a background, in this article I describe and analyze Fargespill as form of cultural production.[1] I focus in particular on how what I call the "Fargespill formula" of combining musical materials from the immigrant and refugee children's home countries together with Norwegian folk music creates a narrative of domestication and assimilation of cultural others that constitutes an aesthetic analog to the social technique for managing cultural difference known as planned pluralism. I also use Deleuze and Guattari's twin concepts of *majoritarian/minoritarian* as a tool for interpreting Fargespill's representations and I suggest that, while Fargespill represents itself as being a minoritarian mode of representation, it is actually a fully majoritarian mode. While the public face of Fargespill is that of children of various immigrant and minority groups, behind the scenes the performances are actually conceptualized, scripted, and extensively stage-managed primarily by majority (white) Norwegian adult arts professionals. Given this tension between the organization of the creative practice behind Fargespill and its external representations, I explore the

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1 Earlier versions of this article have been presented at the eighth meeting of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities in Osaka in July 2014, the seventeenth Nordic Musicological Congress in Aalborg in August 2015, a seminar at Bergen International Migration and Ethnic Relations Unit (IMER) in September 2015, the III UskoMus Symposium "Music and Multiculturalism" in Helsinki in December 2015, and MUSICULT '16: The 3rd International Music and Cultural Studies Conference in Istanbul in May 2016. The research was also presented in a half-day seminar on Fargespill at the 2016 Summer School of the Grieg Research School in Interdisciplinary Music Studies in Bergen, which also included presentations by Ole Hamre and Irene Kinunda from Fargespill and by Vibeke Solbue of Bergen University College, followed by a panel discussion with all the presenters, including myself. Thanks to all who commented on this work in those forums, as well as to Randi Gressgård and Eva Fock who read and commented on a nearly complete draft, and to an anonymous reviewer for DMO. While I have not been able to incorporate into this published version all the suggestions for additions or revisions I have received, the many comments have helped me to refine and nuance the argument and to position it in relation to other perspectives not included here.

question of whether Fargespill constitutes a positive contribution to creating a climate for embracing difference in Norway, or whether Fargespill is better understood as a reassuring story white Norwegians tell themselves about multicultural Norway that, at best, naively sidesteps ongoing problems of racism and intolerance toward minorities and immigrants endemic in contemporary Norwegian society and, at worst, provides a kind of smoke screen that provides the Norwegian state (which gives significant funding to Fargespill) with legitimacy while distracting from the state's troubling treatment of child refugees and asylum seekers. I suggest that Fargespill's use of the voices and performing bodies of refugee children to tell its story about a supposed Norwegian multicultural utopia can be seen as especially problematic in the context of the Norwegian state's recent practices regarding the forced return of long-dwelling child asylum seekers to their country of origin.

In this article I approach Fargespill from an outsider's point of view, reading Fargespill's performances as cultural texts and developing a critical perspective on Fargespill's representations. Several other research projects on Fargespill based on ethnographic methods including participant observation and interviews with the project's leaders and participants are currently being carried out by MA and PhD students in fields including music education, music therapy, and psychology; that research is as of this writing just beginning to be published.[2] While the present article does not pretend to present the points of view of those directly involved in Fargespill, I hope it will provide a useful, complementary perspective to work by other researchers that is based on ethnographic methods.

The Fargespill concept

The songs presented in Fargespill's stage shows represent the home countries of the children themselves who participate in the performances and have included, for example, folk and popular music and dance from many nations, mostly in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, including (but not limited to) Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sudan, Palestine, Kurdistan (Iran and Iraq), Afghanistan, Uyghuristan (China), Myanmar (Burma), Sri Lanka, and the Philippines. As this list of countries suggests, many of the children come from countries with active conflict zones or other conditions that have led to a significant outflow of refugees. Songs from the countries the children come from are combined together with songs from Norwegian folk music in often elaborate production numbers with complex musical arrangements and choreographies featuring an eclectic mix ranging from traditional music and dance to contemporary popular cultural expressions such as rapping and hip-hop dancing. While the specific musical numbers used and cast members may change from one performance season to the next, the

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2   See for example Hildegunn Schuff, "Supporting Identity Development in Cross-Cultural Children and Young People: Resources, Vulnerability, Creativity," *Fleks: Scandinavian Journal of Intercultural Theory and Practice* 3 (2016), https://journals.hioa.no/index.php/fleks/article/view/1687, accessed June 8, 2016.

Fargespill concept remains the same – a representation of ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity in Norway staged through the sounding voices and dancing bodies of the children on stage.

The name "Fargespill" deserves some explanation. The word *farge* in Norwegian means "color." *Spill* means "play," as in to play a game or to act in a theatrical performance. The Norwegian term *fargespill* can translate the concept of "iridescence" from physics, in the sense of luminous colors (like a rainbow) that seem to change when seen from different angles as, for example, light refracted from an oil slick, soap bubble, fish scales or compact disc.[3] But, as its more literal translation "play of colors," or the more poetic translation "colorplay," suggests, the word *fargespill* is, in this case, also a kind of pun, evoking a colorful performance, or a performance in which color itself is the primary focus. The term *farge* can also in Norwegian invoke associations with race, as with, for example, the common Norwegian words *hudfarge* (skin color) and *farget* (colored, as in "a colored person"), and can thus in certain contexts be a somewhat loaded word, as discussed by Norwegian anthropologist Marianne Gullestad.[4] The name Fargespill plays on all these meanings, suggesting the multicultural nature of the performances as children and youth of different races and ethnic groups (literally, different "colors") present colorful songs and dances.

While the visible face of Fargespill is the group of children onstage, the creative team behind the performances has, for much of its history, consisted entirely of white Norwegians. The originator of the Fargespill concept, and artistic leader for instrumental music, is Norwegian percussionist and composer Ole Hamre. The co-artistic leader for song is singer Sissel Saue. The project's choreographer and director of the stage performances up to 2009 was Hilde Sol Erdal. Since 2009, the choreography has been done by Elizabeth Guino-O, a native of the Philippines who has lived in Norway since 1981. In addition to this core creative team, Kjersti Berge serves as producer and project leader. The team behind Fargespill during its first five years, when the concept was first developed and established in the form it continues in today, thus consisted entirely of white Norwegian arts professionals. Though, as I have mentioned, a person of color with a non-Norwegian background is now Fargespill's choreographer.

The songs that form the basis of the Fargespill performances are carefully chosen. Many of the songs used are collected directly from the children themselves by the project's co-artistic leader in charge of song, singer Sissel Saue. The musical arrangements are coordinated by co-artistic leader Ole Hamre, who also plays drums and percussion and leads the musical ensemble on stage during the performances. After deciding on the repertory to be used, Saue teaches the songs to the children in group rehearsals, aided sometimes by the children from whom the song was learned

3   *Store norske leksikon*, http://snl.no/fargespill, accessed October 21, 2013, Merriam-Webster, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/iridescence, accessed April 25, 2016.

4   Marianne Gullestad, "Invisible Fences: Egalitarianism, Nationalism and Racism," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* New Series 8 (2002), "Om å være både norsk og 'farget'" [On being both Norwegian and "colored"], *Nytt norsk tidsskrift* 19 (2002), "Normalising Racial Boundaries: The Norwegian Dispute about the Term *Neger*," *Social Anthropology* 13 (2005).

and other more experienced members of the troupe. The choreographer works in a similar way, developing dances based on dance movements from the children's native countries and learned from the children themselves. Recruitment of cast members has been primarily from Nygård skole, a primary and secondary school in Bergen where immigrant and refugee children who have newly arrived in the city are placed while they are still learning the Norwegian language. Up to 2014, Nygård skole also provided office space for Fargespill and classrooms for use as rehearsal space; since September 2014 Fargespill has had the use of a house near downtown Bergen for its activities. Before their recruitment to Fargespill, most of the children with an immigrant background have had no formal training in music or experience in performing on a concert stage. As noted already, in the complete cast, the children of immigrant backgrounds are joined by white Norwegian children and youth, some of whom have semi-professional experience as performers, as well as a musical ensemble consisting of professional and semi-professional players, primarily white Norwegians.

The Fargespill musical formula

While the individual pieces that make up a Fargespill performance may take various forms, the typical Fargespill musical number is a medley, combining songs from other countries together with Norwegian folk songs or other elements from traditional Norwegian or Scandinavian music and children's play culture. The different musical sources combined in a single piece often share a common function (for example, lullabies or songs that accompanying children's handclapping games) or a common textual theme or musical elements. A typical example is the number titled "Bane Moni." I discuss here the version used for a music video produced by Fargespill and uploaded to YouTube.[5] The piece starts with a highly rhythmic arrangement of the song "Bane Moni" from Liberia (learned from one of the cast members), said to be about a romance between a boy and a girl. The song begins with two cycles of a cappella call and response between a female soloist and a large group singing in unison. Then the group continues with a couple more repetitions of the main melody over a polyrhythmic percussion arrangement including djembe (a single-headed West African drum), darabuka (Middle Eastern ceramic goblet drum), and other percussion instruments. About thirty seconds into the piece, an abrupt musical break leads to a brief sung dance tune (slåttestev) from Norwegian folk music, "Snåle mi jente," that also refers to romance and marriage, and that lasts about twenty-five seconds. All of the percussion drops out at the start of this section but on the first repetition of the initial strophe, the darabuka returns to accompany the unison singing that is also doubled throughout by an electric guitar using a wah-wah

5   "Fargespill – Bane Moni," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DW-77mFdifE, accessed June 29, 2016. This approximately three minute video is edited down from a longer stage performance but is representative of how Fargespill pieces are typically arranged. A different version can be heard on the Fargespill CD, *Fargespill*, FS1001 (2011). Both versions include the three source pieces mentioned here with the same basic arrangement.

pedal. The music then shifts back to the intense polyrhythmic groove of the Liberian song that started the piece and the group sings the single strophe of that song over and over. As the groove continues, a solo singer enters with "Gjendines bådnlåt," a traditional Norwegian lullaby, made famous through its collection and arrangement as a solo piano piece by Edvard Grieg.[6] The melodically slow-moving lullaby, sung legato in Norwegian in bel canto style by a Norwegian soprano, constitutes a sort of free-floating layer above the complex layers of the ostinatos of vocal and percussion. The lullaby continues until about two and one half minutes into the piece; this section featuring the Norwegian lullaby layered over African-style polyrhythms is thus the longest in the piece. Notes prepared by Fargespill on the piece suggest that the lullaby is appropriate to the unifying theme of this arrangement, since a baby, and thus lullaby-singing, are the common result of a love affair.[7] After the lullaby ends, the Liberian song continues for about twenty-five seconds until fading out at the end of the piece. The different parts of the arrangement of this piece are presented in schematic form in Table 1.

0′00″	"Bane Moni," solo voice + group in unison, polyrhythmic percussion comes in on repetition of strophe	Liberian song about a young couple in love
0′29″	Abrupt stop, begin "Snåle mi jente," group in unison, *darabuka* accompanies	Norwegian traditional sung dance tune (*slåttestev*), subject is also romance
0′55″	Return to "Bane Moni," complex layers of polyrhythm in percussion	
1′09″	"Gjendines bådnlåt," *bel canto* solo, layered over continuous polyrhythmic "Bane Moni" voice and percussion ostinatos	Traditional Norwegian lullaby, made famous by Edward Grieg's piano arrangement
2′30″	"Bane Moni" main strophe repeated until end	
2′56″	End of piece	

Table 1: Fargespill arrangement of "Bane Moni"

More could be said about the costuming (for example the grass skirts worn by some of the female performers of African origin) and the rather exoticist choreography in Fargespill's video for "Bane Mori" but for the purposes of this article I have focused on the musical aspect. Most of the pieces in Fargespill follow this "formula" of combining Norwegian folk music together with musical materials from the countries the

6   "Gjendines bådnlåt," in Grieg's *Norske folkeviser* op 66, after a lullaby sung by Gjendine Slaalien. For a musicological study of this lullaby, see Sarah Catherine Nagell, "Gjendines bådnlåt: Analysis and Interpretation from a Performer's Perspective," (MA thesis, Telemark University College, 2012).
7   Notes on track 1 in the booklet accompanying the Fargespill CD, page 2.

children with an immigrant background represent, though there are some variations within this format in particular pieces.[8]

Growth of Fargespill in Norway and beyond

From its beginnings as a cultural initiative in the city of Bergen, Fargespill has gained increasing national attention within Norway, leading to performances in other cities such as Oslo and Trondheim. It has been promoted on television, especially the government-operated Norwegian national broadcaster NRK that has reported on Fargespill and broadcast performances by it on several occasions. Fargespill has been extensively covered by the Norwegian press, with major newspapers running feature stories on it and giving consistently glowing reviews of its performances.[9]

Fargespill has won a number of prizes at the local, regional, and national levels,[10] and is frequently presented and discussed at seminars and conferences on multiculturalism, where it is promoted as a shining example of Norwegian practices of multicultural inclusion. The profile of Fargespill has thus risen significantly since it debuted in 2004. In addition to a regular place in the Bergen International Festival (Festspillene) in May over several years, Fargespill performed for the Norwegian king and queen at the king's 70th birthday celebration in 2007 and for Burmese democracy activist and Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi when she visited Norway in June 2012, to give just two examples of high-profile performances. Fargespill has received some attention outside of Norway, for example in the form of a TEDx talk in English.[11]

In addition to funding from ticket sales and private donors, the Fargespill project has been the receiver of varying, but over time generally increasing, support from the Norwegian state at the local and national levels. In 2013, for example, Fargespill had lines in the budgets of Bergen municipality (amounting that year to 948,000 Norwegian Crowns, approximately 121,400 Euros at the exchange rate at that time), Hordaland

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8 The piece called "Muniras dans," for example, incorporates melodies from a Uyghur song with newly composed Norwegian-language lyrics, together with the Swedish folk song (also well-known in Norway) "Jeg gikk meg ut i lunden grønn." See track 10 on the Fargespill CD and the television performance "NRK TV – Førkveld – 30.11.2011," http://tv.nrk.no/serie/foerkveld/dvfk18113011/30-11-2011, accessed June 29, 2016.

9 See for example Linn Gjerstad, "Hele verden i Bergen" [The whole world in Bergen], *Bergensavisen*, November 17, 2008, 24–25, Anne Huso, "Full fargefest" [Full colorfest], *Bergensavisen*, May 28, 2003, 26, Jan H. Landro, "Ny seier for Fargespillerne" [New triumph for the Fargespill troupe], *Bergens tidende*, May 28, 2013, and Einar Engelstad, "Fargerikt festfyrverkeri på mange språk" [Colorful fest-fireworks in many languages], *Bergens tidene*, November 15, 2015, http://www.bt.no/kultur/konsert/Fargerikt-festfyrverkeri-pa-mange-sprak-3482468.html, accessed April 25, 2016. The Fargespill website includes a page with a list of media stories with links to external websites, including reviews and news stories about the prizes it has won. "Pressearkiv," http://fargespill.no/pressearkiv, accessed April 28, 2016.

10 For example, Fargespill received Bergen municipality's prize for equality, inclusion and diversity [Bergen kommunes pris for likestilling, inkludering og mangfold] for the year 2015. "Fargespill fikk mangfold-sprisen," https://www.bergen.kommune.no/aktuelt/sistenytt/article-133440, accessed February 1, 2016.

11 "TEDxNHH - Ole Hamre - 25 nations on one stage: The potential of diversity and the beauty of unity?" (talk originally delivered on September 28, 2011 at Norges Handelshøyskole), http://tedxtalks.ted.com/video/TEDxNHH-Ole-Hamre-25-nations-on, accessed June 29, 2016.

County (406,000 NOK in 2013, 52,000 EUR), and the Norwegian national state budget (500,000 NOK in 2013, 64,000 EUR).[12] Together these made up 38% of Fargespill's total budget for that year.[13] As one newspaper headline put it when reporting on Fargespill's inclusion in the Norwegian national state budget for 2013, "Hele Norge betaler for Fargespill" (All of Norway pays for Fargespill).[14] After two years of not being funded at the national level, in 2016 Fargespill was allocated 2 million Norwegian Crowns in the Norwegian state budget (ca. 215,000 Euros at the time of the announcement in late May 2016), a significant increase in public funding.[15] This high level of state support has meant that Fargespill has, in effect, become a semi-official state multicultural ensemble in Norway, in fact if not in name. While ticket sales and private donations continue to make up a significant part of Fargespill's income, the amount of state support it receives means that it can no longer really be considered to be independent.

The *Fargespill* "brand" has recently expanded from live performances to include a commercially released CD and songbooks designed to be used in multicultural music education.[16] Fargespill has also become a franchise; the primary organization based in the city of Bergen has begun licensing its name and the concept to groups in other Norwegian cities who wish to stage similar performances under the Fargespill name. The concept has also recently been licensed to performing troupes in three cities in Sweden, such that one can say that Fargespill has become an international (or at least pan-Scandinavian) phenomenon.

Fargespill, multiculturalism, and the majoritarian

For trying to understand and interpret Fargespill, some useful tools I have found include recent theorizations of multiculturalism, and the concepts of *majoritarian* and *minoritarian* developed by Giles Deleuze and Félix Guattari.

Fargespill instantiates what Norwegian sociologist Randi Gressgård, in her 2010 book *Multicultural Dialogue*, calls "a 'soft' version of multiculturalism," in which "cultural diversity is seen as a positive factor only to the extent that it promotes the prevailing values and does not challenge the established institutions and the shared values embodied in those institutions."[17] Fargespill can also be understood in terms of

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12 "Inne på Statsbudsjettet!" [In the state budget!], http://www.fargespill.no/fargespill-pa-statsbudsjet-tet, accessed November 4, 2013. This page has since been deleted after the Fargespill website was redesigned and reorganized.

13 Private e-mail from Kjersti Berge, June 24, 2016.

14 John Lindebotten, "Hele Norge betaler for Fargespill" [All of Norway pays for Fargespill], *Bergens tidene*, October 30, 2012, http://www.bt.no/bergenpuls/Hele-Norge-betaler-for-Fargespill-2788276.html, accessed June 29, 2016.

15 Robert Nedrejord, "Fargespill inn på statsbudsjettet" [Fargespill into the state budget], *Bergens tidene*, May 30, 2016, http://fargespill.no/article/statsbudsjettet, accessed June 2, 2016.

16 The Fargespill book has been published in Norwegian and English editions; the official English name for the project is "Kaleidoscope." *Fargespill* (Bergen: Fargespill, 2011), *Kaleidoscope* (Bergen: Fargespill, 2012).

17 Randi Gressgård, *Multicultural Dialogue: Dilemmas, Paradoxes, Conflicts* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), xi.

what Gressgård describes as "liberal-democratic 'planned pluralism,'" a technique for "managing cultural difference."[18] Summarizing Swedish researcher Aleksandra Ålund's definition,[19] Gressgård describes planned pluralism as "a technocratic, effective, rational and scientifically controlled form of integration of immigrants. The plurality is culturalised into a multiplicity of cultural distinctions, while at the same time being ethnocentrically linked to the prevailing standards of normality."[20]

Planned pluralism thus results in a situation in which "the 'others' are assimilated but, at the same time, are depicted as culturally distinct and hierarchically subordinated to 'us.'"[21] I argue that a kind of stage-managed "planned pluralism" is, in Fargespill, aestheticized and musically enacted through the staging of minority children singing alternately *both* Norwegian folk songs (often in local Norwegian dialects) – thus showing that they are properly assimilated to Norway and Norwegian culture – *and* songs from "their own" distinct and colorful cultures, which instantiate their cultural distinctiveness in a non-threatening way.

The Fargespill formula of combining songs from other countries with Norwegian folk music in a single musical arrangement, as illustrated in the "Bane Moni" example I discussed above, works to enact a particular idea of multicultural integration in Norway. In these arrangements, the presence of Norwegian folk music acts as a constant, a baseline, and an unmarked default category – a "prevailing standard of normality," in Gressgård's words – that is always there, and against which all the other musical materials are implicitly contrasted. The constantly changing musical materials from the other countries are marked as sonically different (even exotic) in relation to the Norwegian material, both in terms of their musical elements (scales, rhythms, vocal timbre, etc.) and their languages (with the exception of some songs in which newly composed texts in Norwegian are substituted for the texts in the original languages). "The Norwegian" as a category remains constant, and various others (African, Middle Eastern, Asian) become tokens that are interchangeable with each other – a "multiplicity of cultural distinctions," as Gressgård puts it – as they in quick succession fill in the slot reserved for the category "other." The cultural specificity of a song from Somalia, a Kurdish rhythm, a Tamil dance, etc. is lost, since their purpose within the format is simply to be the "other" to the default category of "the Norwegian." The foreign sonic materials, along with the bodies of the children themselves, are thus domesticated and incorporated into the consistent framework, enacting in performance their assimilation.

The sequence of pieces in the live performances of Fargespill also enacts the ongoing domestication and assimilation of diverse others in relation to the fixed category and content of "the Norwegian." Fargespill thus uses musical means to stage, through the voices and bodies of children of immigrant backgrounds, the internal other within Norway in an aesthetic translation of "planned pluralism," in the sense that Fargespill

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18   Gressgård, *Multicultural Dialogue*, 10.
19   Aleksandra Ålund, "Immigrant Culture as an Obstacle to 'Partnership,'" in *Paradoxes of Multiculturalism*, ed. Aleksandra Ålund and Carl-Ulrik Schierup (Aldershot: Avebury, 1991).
20   Gressgård, *Multicultural Dialogue*, 11.
21   Gressgård, *Multicultural Dialogue*, xv.

represents the children and their respective cultures as both assimilated (through the minority children's ability to sing traditional Norwegian songs in Norwegian) and as hierarchically subordinated to the majority culture (through placing the "exotic" musical materials in the marked category and through the format of juxtaposing those "exotic" musical materials with Norwegian folk music). The hierarchy is confirmed through the *interchangeability* of different specific cultures – Somalian, Kurdish, Uyghur, and so on – in relation to Norwegian culture as the constant, invariable, stable presence.

A closely related theoretical angle for approaching and interpreting Fargespill is the now well-known twin concepts of *majoritarian* and *minoritarian* discussed by Giles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in their book *A Thousand Plateaus*.[22] Deleuze and Guattari develop these concepts in their discussion of what they call major and minor languages and literatures. Deleuze and Guattari write

> The opposition between minority and majority is not simply quantitative. Majority implies a constant, of expression or content, serving as a standard measure by which to evaluate it ... Majority assumes a state of power and domination, not the other way around. It assumes the standard measure, not the other way around ... A determination different from that of the constant will therefore be considered minoritarian, by nature and regardless of number, in other words, a subsystem or an outsystem.[23]

In Deleuze and Guattari's thinking, the majoritarian is thus "a constant and homogeneous system" while minorities are "subsystems."[24] Later in the book, returning to these concepts, Deleuze and Guattari write, "minorities are not necessarily defined by the smallness of their numbers but rather ... by the gap that separates them from this or that axiom constituting a redundant majority."[25]

The ideas of Deleuze and Guattari are complex and subtle, and it can be useful to refer to texts that provide an exegesis of their thinking. Ronald Bogue explains that:

> Majorities and minorities are not determined by sheer numbers. The group of Western white male adults may represent a relatively small sample of the world's population; nevertheless, that group functions as the majority, and those outside that group are members of various minorities. Nor are minorities defined by fixed identities or characteristics. Instead, majorities and minorities are mutually determined *through their positions in power relations*, and thus *through their function* rather than their possession of some defining trait, whether statistical, religious, ethnic, racial or biological.[26]

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22   Giles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (London: Bloomsbury, 2013, originally published in French in 1980).
23   Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 122–123.
24   Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 123.
25   Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 546.
26   Ronald Bogue, "The Minor," in *Giles Deleuze: Key Concepts*, ed. Charles J. Stivale (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 13 (emphasis added).

Claire Colebrook further explains that: "A majority always presents itself, not as a specific group or contingent assemblage, but as representative of man or humanity in general"[27] and "[a] majoritarian mode ... presents the opposition as already given and based on a privileged and original term."[28] The *majority* is thus the default, unmarked category, while the minority is marked through difference in relation to the majority, and majoritarian modes instantiate this hierarchy by naturalizing the majority as the privileged instance (the unmarked category) and the minority as both *outside* the majority and incorporated *into* it through its placement in a subordinate position in a hierarchy in relation to the majority.[29]

Fargespill functions as a majoritarian mode in that it confirms "the Norwegian" as the "standard measure by which to evaluate" and thus gives it the power to determine what belongs to it and what does not. "The Norwegian" is, within Fargespill, the "constant and homogeneous system," instantiating the "redundant majority" while also creating and bracketing as a separate category that which is not "redundant" – in this case cultural expressions (language, music, dance) from the countries that the children with an immigrant background come from. That which is different within this system is "defined by the gap between" it and the majority, and that gap is both confirmed and bridged in the narrative of assimilation which the Fargespill performances enact. Fargespill represents itself, through its placement of children with an immigrant background front and center, as being minoritarian but is actually a fully majoritarian mode; the terms of the representation are already determined beforehand while the agency of the children is reduced to playing out a script assigned to them. The diverse cultures represented onstage in Fargespill are thus not minorities in the sense that Deleuze and Guattari define them, since the terms of their presence and participation are subject to and determined by the majoritarian.

Norwegian ethnomusicologist Sunniva Hovde reads the majoritarian-minoritarian distinction to mean that the majoritarian is the position that defines the terms of the discourse and sets the premises – the categories, scripts, and modes of representation – that guide social life, and which all members of a society must relate to.[30] In quite literal terms, the white Norwegian creators of Fargespill set the premises for the Fargespill show. Much of the musical material does indeed come from the immigrant children participants, but once it is collected from them it is reworked and inserted into a narrative about multiculturalism in Norway, the premises of which are determined and implemented by the show's creative team.

27   Claire Colebrook, *Understanding Deleuze* (Crows Nest, Australia: Allen&Unwin, 2002), 63.
28   Claire Colebrook, *Giles Deleuze* (London: Routledge, 2002), 104.
29   Deleuze and Guattari's ideas about the relationship between the majoritarian and the minoritarian also resonate with Stuart Hall's discussion of how the global is "the self-presentation of the dominant particular … a way in which the dominant particular localizes and naturalizes itself and associates with a variety of other minorities." Stuart Hall, "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities," in *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, ed. Anthony D. King (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 67.
30   Sunniva Skjøstad Hovde, *Global musicking; Om innvandring og den farlige forskjelligheten* [Global musicking: On immigration and the dangerous difference] (PhD diss., Norges teknisk-naturvitenskaplige universitet, 2012).

The "story" about multiculturalism in Norway that Fargespill tells is consistent with what Norwegian anthropologist Marianne Gullestad refers to as "narratives about Norway as a homogeneous, tolerant, anti-racist, and peace-loving society."[31] In an article published in English in 2004, the same year that Fargespill debuted in Bergen, Gullestad elaborates:

> Majority Norwegians see themselves as *victims* of Danish colonialism and Nazi-German occupation, and not as being influenced by an unacknowledged racist culture. According to popular self-images, Norway is innocent in relation to colonialism. The inhabitants supported the civil rights movement in the US, as well as the ANC in South Africa. Norway has played an important role in peace negotiations in various regions such as the Middle East, Guatemala, Sri Lanka and Columbia. Moreover, Norway is among those nations in the world that spends the most money per capita on development aid to the Third World. So, when minority people complain of local racism, the innocent national self-image and the associated collective memory are at stake ... "Immigrant" representations of Norway which do not underwrite majority hegemony are still few and far between in the Norwegian public realm.[32]

Such narratives about Norway may be considered, in the terms used by Deleuze and Guattari, as a majoritarian determination that naturalizes and cements the hierarchical structure that places white Norwegians ("*etnisk norsk*") on top while simultaneously denying that there is a hierarchical structure at all.

Fargespill clearly functions as a majoritarian mode of representation, in the sense that it instantiates a construction of Norway's internal others in a way that confirms a majority Norwegian self-image of being a country that treats its minorities well. Staging the performance by placing children and youth with immigrant backgrounds literally on stage together with white Norwegian children and youth also contributes to creating the appearance of assimilated immigrant children happily playing together with white Norwegian children – staging Norway as a multicultural paradise or utopia, represented through the trope of innocence embodied in the staged image of children at play.

I should also say at least a few words on the use of Norwegian folk music and folk culture more generally as Fargespill's chosen primary vehicle for the representation of Norwegian culture. I do not have the knowledge of Norwegian folk music in either its historical or contemporary forms to be able to discuss comprehensively its place within the performative construction of Norwegian identity in the early twenty-first century.[33] But the critical analytical framework I am working within does provide a useful angle for interpretation. The strategic use of Norwegian folk music and folk culture

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31   Gullestad, "Invisible Fences," 59.
32   Marianne Gullestad, "Blind Slaves of our Prejudices: Debating 'Culture' and 'Race' in Norway," *Ethnos* 69 (2004): 182.
33   For a theoretical discussion of the emergence of the concept of folk music as a category within the historical context of national romanticism, with special reference to Norway, see Jan Peter Blom, "Hva er folkemusikk?" [What is folk music?], in *Fanitullen: Innføring i norsk og samisk folkemusikk*, ed. Bjørn Aksdal and Sven Nyhus (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1993).

in Fargespill's performances allows for a kind of "mirroring" between Norwegian folk music and the musics of the immigrant children it is juxtaposed with.

Norwegian folk music works within Fargespill as an authentic marker of Norwegian-ness, grounding it in an imagined pre-industrial, rural past. But at the same time, Norwegian folk music constitutes a kind of internally generated "other" that provides an immediate context for understanding the externally originating otherness of the musics of the countries the immigrant children come from. Norwegian folk music, as an internal cultural other, constitutes a marked category or subset within the overall unmarked category of Norwegian culture. Through this markedness, the sheer sonic difference of Norwegian folk music, manifested in musical parameters such as vocal timbre, tonality, and unique rhythmic characteristics, not to mention the marked linguistic aspect of the dialect used in many of the song texts, thus embodies a kind of Norwegian-ness that, in structural terms, "mirrors" the exotic sounds of the musical materials from the countries of origin of the immigrant children. Gressgård points to the role of this kind of "mirroring" in the enabling of the recognition of "others," and I borrow that idea of "mirroring" here, albeit knowingly with the risk of taking one element of her complex argument out of its context. Summarizing philosopher Hans Herbert Kögler's discussion of critical hermeneutics after Gadamer and Foucault,[34] Gressgård explains that: "When the 'others' are reduced to a mirror image of 'us,' they do not pose a threat to the coherent unity of our own understanding of being."[35] Gressgård further paraphrases Kögler on the point that "we recognize the 'others' as rational subjects to the degree that they are rational in the way that we are ourselves."[36] Gressgård describes this as a characteristic of "dialogic pseudo-openness," through which "understanding the 'others' becomes a circular process, imprisoned within one's own horizon of meaning."[37] Norwegian folk music, with its exotic sounds and association with a pre-modern rural past, is displaced enough in time to become "folkloric" and culturally marked as other, while still being recognizably authentically Norwegian and thus assimilable to a narrative of Norwegian-ness. It thus serves to provide a "mirror" (in the sense that Kögler and Gressgård describe) for the musical expressions of the foreign "others," providing a ground on which to understand and, ultimately, assimilate them and their music into the logic of existing categories. At the same time, within the context of Fargespill, Norwegian folk music also mediates *between* those others and contemporary ("modern") Norwegian-ness in a way that keeps the externally originating music and culture at a safe cultural distance. By setting up equivalencies between Norwegian folk music, with its pre-modern associations, and the music of the cultures of the immigrant children, Fargespill also suggests that the cultures of the immigrant children themselves are in some essential way outside the sphere of the modern.

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34   Hans Herbert Kögler, *The Power of Dialogue: Critical Hermeneutics after Gadamer and Foucault*, trans. Paul Hendrickson (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).
35   Gressgård, *Multicultural Dialogue*, 110.
36   Gressgård, *Multicultural Dialogue*, 109.
37   Gressgård, *Multicultural Dialogue*, 109.

This sonic "mirroring" has a visual correlate as well in Fargespill's performances. Many of the immigrant children wear (representations of) "traditional" costumes from their home countries. Interspersed with them onstage, a number of the young Norwegians in the cast (mostly girls) wear the *bunad*, the Norwegian national folk dress. Here, the equivalency between Norwegian folk culture as pre-modern and the cultures of the children is made manifest in the colorful moving bodies of the children themselves.[38]

Fargespill, child refugees, and the Norwegian state

Fargespill's representation of happily assimilated, singing and dancing children of immigrant background contrasts with the Norwegian state's recent treatment of many child refugees and asylum seekers. In the last several years there have been a large number of cases in Norway involving the forced return of child asylum seekers together with their families to their countries of origin after their asylum application was turned down. In many of these cases, because it took the Norwegian state many years to reach its final decision and begin deportation procedures, the children had become thoroughly Norwegianized in language and culture and well-integrated into their local communities. In the most egregious of these cases, involving children who were born in Norway after their parents came as refugees, or children who had left their home countries as infants, the Norwegian state forcibly returned children to countries to which they had little connection.[39] In the context of the significant financial support provided by the Norwegian state to Fargespill, and given my analysis above, one can ask: Does Fargespill represent a dissenting voice within the Norwegian public sphere, providing a space for the agency of refugee children and advocating for their rights? Or does it, even if unwittingly and with the best of intentions, provide a sort of cover for the Norwegian state to carry out its exclusionary policies?

For most of its history, Fargespill has stayed resolutely out of politics. When serving as spokesman for Fargespill, artistic leader Ole Hamre has repeatedly stated that Fargespill is an *artistic* project, not a social one. Such statements strategically, if perhaps somewhat naïvely, serve to rhetorically insulate the Fargespill project from its political implications. Given its dependence on child refugees and minor age asylum seekers in Norway for its concept and very existence, it is perhaps inevitable that Fargespill would eventually come up against hard and cold facts on the ground that

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38 For a discussion of the cultural politics of the Norwegian folk costume *bunad*, see Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "Traditionalism and Neoliberalism: The Norwegian Folk Dress in the 21st Century," in *Properties of Culture–Culture as Property: Pathways to Reform in Post-Soviet Siberia*, ed. Erich Kasten (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2004).

39 For an overview of child asylum seekers deported from Norway during 2014, see "Asylbarna Norge sendte ut" [The asylum-seeker children Norway deported], *Bergens tidene*, December 18, 2014, http://www.bt.no/spesial/asylbarna/#!/, accessed June 29, 2016. According to statistics from the Norwegian police cited in this article, a total of 543 asylum-seeking children were deported from Norway between January and October 2014; seventy-six of these had been in Norway at least four years or longer; eight of them had been born in Norway.

would force it to enter the arena of political debates about the Norwegian state's treatment of child refugees. A turning point came in August 2014, when thirteen-year old Aves Sadek, who had lived in Norway for about four and one half years, was awakened in the middle of the night at his home in Ytre Arna outside Bergen by Norwegian police and, together with the rest of his family (including two brothers also of minor age), deported to Pakistan. Aves had been a participant in Fargespill for several years, having performed onstage with the troupe many times. The creative team behind Fargespill were clearly moved by this development, which hit so close to home, affecting one of the very children whom they had worked closely with. Artistic leader Ole Hamre, together with coordinator and co-producer Frøydis Moberg, wrote an impassioned opinion column (*kronikk* in Norwegian) that was published in the Bergen newspaper *Bergens tidende* on August 27, 2014, signing it with their names as members of the Fargespill organization (Stiftelsen Fargespill).[40] They noted the irony that just three months before he was deported, Aves had stood on the main stage of the opera house in Oslo in a Fargespill show that formed part of the official program for the 200-year anniversary celebration of the Norwegian constitution. The Fargespill troupe, including Aves, had sung the Norwegian national anthem "Ja, vi elsker dette landet" [Yes, we love this country] as part of the show. Hamre and Moberg's editorial column moved deftly between the specific case of Aves and the larger context of the Norwegian state's treatment of child asylum seekers.[41]

Conclusions: The play of colors, in black and white

In her discussion of what she calls "the racialization of difference" and the growing "ethnification of national identity" in Norway around the turn of the millennium, Gullestad notes that:

> Many Norwegians now turn to the simultaneous production of differences and call for sameness. In many contexts the ideal of imagined sameness produces a solution (demands for sameness) to a problem it has itself contributed to creating. It is as though an outsider must be created, in order for the internal sameness, unity, and sense of belonging to be confirmed … "Immigrants" are asked to "become Norwegian," at the same time as it is tacitly assumed that this is

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40   Frøydis Moberg and Ole Hamre, "Ja, vi elsker?" [Yes, we love?], *Bergens tidende*, August 27, 2014, http://www.bt.no/meninger/kronikk/Ja_-vi-elsker-3184067.html, accessed August 27, 2014.

41   A similar development affected the Fargespill troupe in the city of Kristiansand in January 2015, when a 16-year old participant was detained together with his family and deported to Afghanistan. PhD student in psychology Hildegunn Schuff, who is doing research on Fargespill in Kristiansand, wrote an editorial column with a similar impassioned tone to that of Moberg and Hamre, published in the newspaper *Fædrelandsvennen* and reproduced also in various other places online. Hildegunn Marie Tønnessen Schuff, "Barnas beste – bare når det passer oss?" [The best for the children – only when it's convenient for us?], *Fædrelandsvennen*, http://www.fvn.no/mening/synspunkt/Barnas-beste--bare-nar-det-passer-oss-2783676.html (accessible only with a subscription), accessed June 8, 2016, republished with open access at http://www.abup.no/barnas-beste-bare-nar-det-passer-oss, accessed June 8, 2016.

something they can never really achieve. "They" are often criticized without much corresponding consideration of "our" knowledge or "their" traditions, or "our" ability and willingness to reflect critically upon "our" own. "We" ("Norwegians") are thus considered more advanced and hierarchically superior to "them" ("Muslims," "Pakistanis," "Vietnamese," "Tamils," "our new countrymen from other cultures," and so on).[42]

I have argued that Fargespill musically reproduces what Gullestad calls the "simultaneous production of differences and call for sameness." The immigrant children in the Fargespill shows demonstrate that they have "become Norwegian," in that they can, firstly, sing Norwegian songs in the Norwegian language and, secondly, participate in a representation of multiculturalism in Norway on Norwegian terms. At the same time, their status as "other" is reaffirmed through their performance of "their own" (non-Norwegian) traditions.

Fargespill has within Norway been universally acclaimed. In my survey of reviews and feature stories in the Norwegian media, I have yet to find a negative review or commentary. It is clear that the story Fargespill tells about multiculturalism and the integration of immigrants in Norway appeals to many majority Norwegians. At best, one might argue that Fargespill is a naïve but harmless spectacle, and one could argue that it is a positive contribution to creating a climate for embracing cultural difference in Norway. Such an argument is, however, contained within the logic of multiculturalism I have critiqued here, and so is ultimately self-serving. At worst, Fargespill can be seen as a cynical manipulation that uses the voices and bodies of children to tell a story that, while reassuring for majority white Norwegians, grossly misrepresents the reality for, and experiences of, people of non-white, non-European immigrant background in Norway, sidestepping ongoing problems of racism and intolerance toward minorities and immigrants endemic in contemporary Norwegian society while providing a smoke screen that distracts from the Norwegian state's problematic treatment of child refugees and asylum seekers. In this sense, while Fargespill stages what appears to be a musical dialogue between Norwegian culture and the cultures of the children who participate in it, it has more in common with Gressgård's claim that, quite often, "multicultural dialogue is in fact a monologue."[43] To paraphrase postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak, Fargespill's way of using the moving bodies and sounding voices of refugee and minority children to stage a majoritarian narrative about multicultural Norway suggests the ironic question, "Can the subaltern sing?" Fargespill may indeed be colorful, but its colors paint over issues that, frankly, have a lot to do with Norwegian ideologies regarding black and white.

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42   Gullestad, "Invisible Fences," 59.
43   Gressgård, Multicultural Dialogue, 11.

Abstract

Fargespill (lit. "play of colors") is a series of musical performances in Norway that have been staged from 2004 to the present. Each performance consists of a sequence of musical and dance numbers performed by children from different minority and immigrant groups, many of whom came to Norway as refugees, together with white Norwegian children. With recent theorizations of multiculturalism and critical discussions of race and racism in Norway as a background, this article describes and analyzes the Fargespill performances, arguing that Fargespill's use of the voices and performing bodies of refugee children to tell its story about multiculturalism in Norway instantiates existing regimes of representation that serve to manage cultural difference and maintain a hierarchy in which majority (white) Norwegian culture has a normative status.

ÁUREA DOMÍNGUEZ

Manuel Garcia's Influence in Nineteenth-century Instrumental Music: Bassoon Playing in France as a Case Study

Introduction

The influence of Garcia in the Bel Canto singing technique of the nineteenth century is unquestionable and it has often been discussed. However, and due to the significance of his method, it might be beneficial to consider Garcia's performance techniques when addressing the issue of instrumental musical practice in general. During the nineteenth century, musicians often used singing practices as a model, as is demonstrated in instrumental tutors. This paper analyses Garcia's work, with analogous instrumental tutors, in order to determining the actual influence of Garcia's work on instrumental music. The research suggests a new approach to Manuel Garcia's works in order to explore his influence in Europe, not only in singing technique, but also in instrumental performance practice.

Modern researchers can comprehend Garcia's vast work as a mirror of the singing practices of the nineteenth century. Moreover, Garcia's tutor reflects many general music performance practices of his time that can also be observed in other tutors, such as instrumental ones. During the nineteenth century, theory of performance practice frequently spread together with the professionalization of musical education, which explains the proliferation of musical tutors written in this period. However, the modern researcher can approach those sources from multiple points of view. In this paper, the method used to analyse tutors using them as a historical source considers that the musical practices at a general level were already established and commonly known by professional musicians before the tutors were written. This can be claimed, because they were aimed at music students in most of the cases and they were normally designed to show and teach musical practice, not to present new knowledge to a scholar community. Twenty-first-century historians and researchers can, therefore, use tutors to learn about contemporary, i.e. at the time the tutors were published, performance practice. When comparing contemporaneous sources, it is often very hard to confirm whether or not the authors read each other's work, as they did not always quote or reference each other. However this point might be consid-

ered irrelevant, as they share the aim of describing a common performance practice from their particular point of view. In the present paper, this is the case of the singer point of view, and the bassoonist point of view. It is because of this that when referring to certain aspects of performance practice in a general way, it is possible to trace similarities, even between what seems such a different sources of music as singing or bassoon playing.

Manuel Garcia

Manuel Patricio Garcia (1805-1906), son of the Spanish tenor Manuel del Pópulo Vicente García and brother of the soprano Maria Malibran, is renowned as one of history's great teachers of singing. Though he had Spanish origins, he developed his professional teaching career in the Paris Conservatory (1830–48) and the Royal Academy of Music, London (1848–95). Moreover, Garcia developed, through experience and scientific observation, a ground-breaking method of vocal pedagogy.

Garcia's father, Manuel Garcia (1775-1832) senior, was already an outstanding singer in his time and taught his family to sing. The influence of Manuel Garcia senior has been of crucial significance to modern singing technique. As a James Radomski[1], argues "García's dynamic perfectionism left its impact on three continents and his legacy, in the hands of his children, was carried into the 20th century."

After sharing his father singing career at an early stage, Manuel Garcia junior abandoned his onstage career as a baritone to focus on singing teaching and academic research. Garcia junior's interest in the physiological aspects of the voice led him to invent the laryngoscope, shown in the illustration bellow. As early as 1855, García developed a tool that used two mirrors to reflect an external light source; with this device he was able, for the first time, to observe the function of his own glottal apparatus and the uppermost portion of his trachea. He presented his findings at the Royal Society of London in 1855.[2] Beside the medical use of the laryngoscope, Garcia was mostly interested in studying the movements connected with the production of the voice in order to develop singing techniques. Therefore, he was the first to apply scientific research to singing, which led him to create a school of singing whereby he applied his research findings on the vocal and respiratory physiology.[3]

Garcia developed his professional teaching career in the Paris Conservatory (1830–48) and the Royal Academy of Music, London (1848–95). Through experience and scientific observation, he developed a leading method of vocal pedagogy that was presented in his *Traité complet de l'Art du Chant*, published in Paris in 1840. In 1847 he expand-

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1   James Radomski, "Garcia, Manuel del Pópulo Vicente Rodriguez," in *The Grove Book of Opera Singers*, ed. Laura Macy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 178.

2   His findings were presented as Manuel Garcia, "Observations on the Human Voice," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 7 (1855): 399-410. This work was an English version of a French essay published in 1841 as "Memoire sur la voix humaine," in: *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des sciences,* 12 April 1841.

3   See Lucía Díaz Marroquín, and Mario Villoria Morillo, *La práctica del canto según Manuel García* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2012), 10.
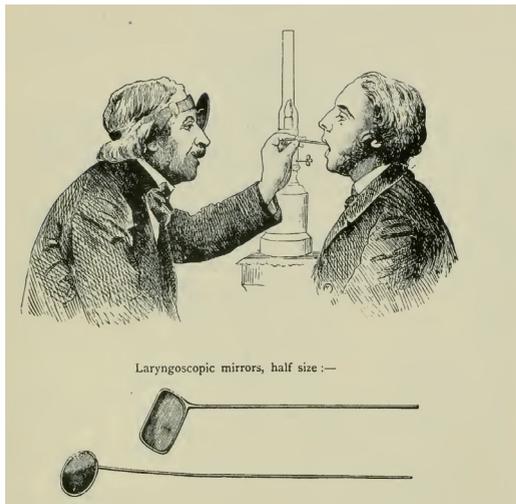
Manuel Garcia's invention: the laryngoscope, picture from *Hints on singing* (1894)
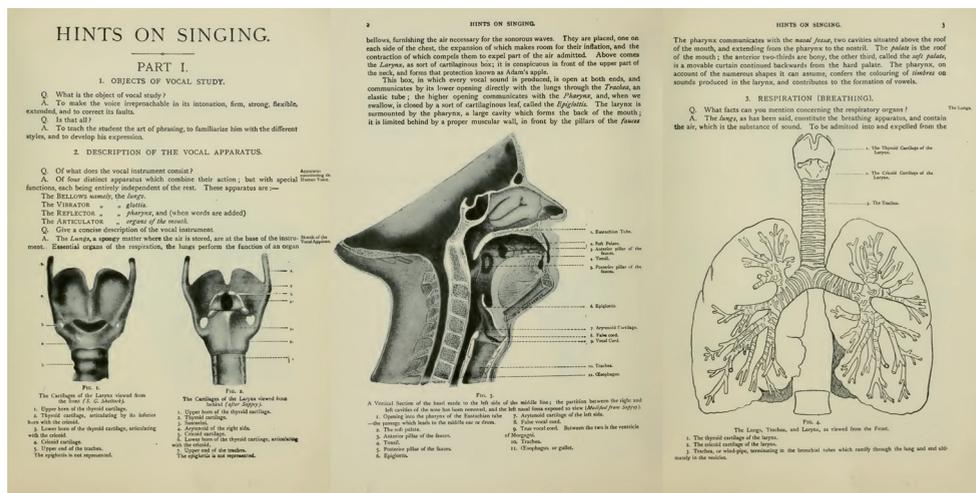
Manuel Garcia's first pages of *Hints on singing* (1894), a singing method where he applies his scientific research to singing techniques.

ed the treatise with a significant revision of the first part and by adding a second part.[4] Moreover, during his life he revised his singing methods several times and also completed other works on singing technique, like *Observations physiologiques sur la voix humaine*, (1861) and *Hints on singing* (1894)[5]. His work gives plenty of information to researchers as it goes beyond the master-student oral tradition typical of other music studies.

4   The two volumes were therefore published as: Manuel Patricio Rodriguez Garcia, *Traité complet de l'Art du Chant*, 2 vols. (Paris: l'Auteur, 1847)
5   See Manuel Garcia, *Hints on Singing* (New York: E. Schuberth & Co., 1894) and Manuel García, *Observations physiologiques sur la voix humaine* (Paris, 1861)

Among his many pupils, the most noteworthy were his sisters, Maria Malibran and Pauline Viardot-Garcia, the Swedish soprano Jenny Lind, Johanna Wagner (niece of Richard Wagner), Mathilde Marchesi, Julius Stockhausen, Henriette Nissen, Charles Bataille, Catherine Hayes, and Antoinette Sterling. His method was also very popular all over Europe and it was used in the moulding of some of the best-known Finnish soprani of the end of the nineteenth century, like Alma Fohström and Aino Ackté.

Due to his influence on so many singers in the nineteenth century, Garcia is a worthy source from which to study Bel Canto singing practice. However, I would like to go further and explain how and why studying Garcia might help not only to understand singing techniques but also to understand instrumental performance practice.

Garcia's influence beyond singing

Studying Garcia certainly helps understanding Bel Canto and singing practices but it can actually also help clarify some issues of instrumental performance practice. There is a consensus among musicologists that one of the main concerns of players in the first half of the nineteenth century was to imitate the human voice. This attitude was not something new, as singing was the main source of inspiration in Baroque music and earlier. All musicians assumed this and singers especially enjoyed the advantage that distinguished them from players.

The singer Francesco Tosi (1653–1732), for instance, discusses as early as 1723 the differences between voice and instrumental playing in his *Opinioni de' cantor antichi e moderni o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato*.[6] Tossi stresses the importance of correct pronunciation while singing because, for him, the main advantage and difference of the voice over instrumental music is the voice's capacity to vocalize and to say words. As Tossi notes: "Words only give preference to a Singer over an instrumental Performer".[7]

At the turn of the nineteenth century, singing is still the main sound model to imitate in performance and it is highly idealized by players. Consequently, when describing the sound of different instruments, every musician confirms that their instrument is the one that most closely approaches the human voice. From the musicians' point of view, this was a quality that gave a higher status to their instrument.

Therefore, it is quite common to find this statement in tutors made for diverse instruments, like, for instance:

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6   Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni de' cantor antichi e moderni o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato* (Bolognia, 1723)

7   [Tosi] Johann Friedrich Agricola, *Anleitung zur Singkunst* (Berlin, 1757). Translated as *Introduction to the art of singing by Johann Friedrich Agricola* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1995), 161.
      Tosi's tutor remained an important source of reference well after his death. Johann Friedrich Agricola, in this regard, did an important job when he republished his tutor with some corrections in 1757.

…the clarinet:[8]

> Above all instruments that configure an orchestra, the clarinet has the sound
> that most approximates the Soprano voice.[9]

…the violin:

> The violin has the honour to rival the human voice.[10]
> But mainly, in its suitability to express the deepest feelings, and in this, of all
> instruments, it most closely approaches the human voice.[11]

…the english horn:

> No instrument so nearly approaches the tone of the human voice, and in Italy it
> is called not only the *Corno Inglese* but *Umana Voce*.[12]

And, of course, along the same lines as the above-mentioned examples, for nine-
teenth-century bassoonists, the bassoon also had the quality of being the instrument
that most closely resembled human voice:

> The touching voice of the bassoon places it in a leading position, because, it is
> the instrument that best resembles the human voice.[13]

Thus it is clear that one of the main aims of instrumental musicians was to imitate, as
much as possible the singing voice and singing practices. For this reason, nineteenth-
century tutors are full of references to singing practices looking for the imitation of
the voice. Therefore, using Garcia's school of singing as a key source to understand Bel
Canto should lead us also to understand instrumental practices that, without his refer-
ence, might be opaque to today's researcher.

It is important to stress, however, that singers' influences on instrumentalists go
beyond written sources. Orchestral musicians of the nineteenth century were constant-
ly exposed to singing practices in all sorts of concerts and activities. Nonetheless, for

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8   Quotes of original sources have been translated to English by the author.
9   Franz Thaddäus Blatt, *Méthode complète de clarinette pour apprendre à jouer de cet instrument avec facilité
     et perfection: Conçue d'après ses expériences comparées aux meilleurs méthodes et dédiée a les élèves du Con-
     servatoire de musique a Praga: première partie. Französisch und deutsch* (Mayence, Paris et Anvers: Chez
     les fils de B. Schott, 1829), 1.
         « de tous les instrumens (sic) dont se compose un orchestre la clarinette posé de le son le plus ap-
     prochant de la voix de Soprano » Blatt, *Méthode de clarinette*, 1.
10   Pierre Marie François de Sales Baillot, Pierre Rode, and Rodolphe Kreutzer, *Méthode de violon* (Paris:
     Magasin de Musique, 1803), 1.
         « Il violon obtient l'honneur de rivaliser avec la voix humaine » .
11   Louis Spohr, *Violinschule* (Viena: Tobias Haslinger, 1832), 7.
         „Hauptsächlich aber, weil sie sich zum Ausdruck des tiefsten Gefühls eignet und hierin von allen
     Instrumenten, der menschlichen Stimme am nächsten kommt".
12   Appollon Marie-Rose Barret, *A Complete Method for the Oboe Comprising all the New Tables of Shakes,
     Scales, Exercises &c&c with an Explicit Method of Reed-making* (London: Jullien, 1850), 2.
13   Eugène Jancourt, *Méthode theorique et practique pour le basson en 3 parties* (Paris: G. Richault, 1847), 2.
         « La voix touchante du Basson le place au premier rang, car c'est l'instrument qui se rapproche le
     plus de la voix humaine ».

modern scholars the more than one hundred pages of Garcia's method, among others of his writings, represent a reliable source and a good description of the singing practices that instrumental players aim to imitate. That is why it is an essential source to investigate, even more so given the lack of aural sources from the early nineteenth century.

Bassoon as a case study

In the pages that follow, I present an example of how Garcia and singing influence in general helps clarifying some performance practice of the nineteenth century, focusing on the case of the bassoon as a case study. During the first half of the nineteenth century, theory on performance spread, in many cases together with the professionalization of musical education. During this period, although the bassoon is not seen as a solo instrument, there is a growing interest in it and its important role in modern orchestras and wind bands. For this reason its teaching is not neglected; moreover, it is now that the first systematic tutors appeared pointing out several theoretical and interpretative features, knowledge of which is essential for any approach to the repertoire of this era.

The research data in this case-study is drawn from three primary sources:[14] *Méthode compléte de basson* (1836) by Frédéric Berr, *Theoretisch practische Anleitung zum Fagottspiel* (1840) by Wenzel Neukirchner, and Louis Marie Eugène Jancourt's *Méthode théorique et pratique pour le basson* (1847). Existing research recognizes the critical role played by Jancourt, Berr, and Neukirchner in nineteenth-century bassoon literature so, here, I provide just a short description of their respective highlights.

Frédéric Berr (1794-1838) combines a performance career in both bassoon and clarinet. In the same year he published the bassoon tutor he also published a clarinet tutor: *Méthode complète de Clarinette.* Berr was a professor at the Conservatoire of Paris from 1831 and his bassoon method of 1836 is aimed not only at solo players but also at military band musicians. A possible explanation for this might be that in 1836, when both the clarinet and bassoon methods were published, Berr took charge of the *Gymnase de Musique Militaire* in Paris. Later on in his career he writes, together with other performers, two further methods for brass instruments and designed for military music[15].

Wenzel Neukirchner (1805-1889) developed his musical career as a bassoon player in the *Hofkapelle Stuttgart* from 1829 to 1889. In 1840 Neukirchner published his *Theoretisch practische Anleitung zum Fagottspiel oder allgemeine Fagottschule nach dem heutigen Standpunkt der Kunst und deren Bedürfnissen.* The work is influenced by several sources, such as French Conservatory publications, but there is also some influence from German works prior to or contemporary to the publishing of the tutor, especially Gottfried Weber's theories on questions of rhythm, accentuation, and the grouping of bars to organize the phrasing. However, in a review of Neukirchner's *allgemeine*

14   Works published as Frédéric Berr, *Méthode complète de basson* (Paris: Messonnier, 1836), Eugène Jancourt, *Méthode theorique et practique pour le basson en 3 parties* (Paris: G. Richault, 1847) and Wenzel W. Neukirchner, Theoretisch practische Anleitung zum Fagottspiel oder allgemeine Fagottschule nach dem heutigen Standpunkt der Kunst und deren Bedürfnissen (Leipzig: F. Hofmeister, 1840)

15   These are published as: Frédéric Berr, *Méthode complète d'ophicléide* (Paris: Messonnier, 1845) and Frédéric Berr, *Méthode complète de trombone* (Paris: Messonnier, 1845)

Fagottschule, I previously identified the 1832 *Violinschule* by Louis Spohr as the main source of reference for Neukirchner's work.[16] Neukirchner bases the theoretical content of his work on the *Violinschule,* citing Spohr but adapting it to the particularities of bassoon performance practice when it is necessary. At the same time, many of the musical examples and studies are a transcription from the violin to the bassoon. Neukirchner arranges the violin music by going beyond the mere simplification of the score and, moreover, he alludes to specific questions that mould and distinguish the bassoon character and technique from that of the violin; such as variations in articulations or adapting the register to obtain a better effect.

Despite the similarities, the *Anleitung zum Fagottspiel* is not just a copy of Spohr's *Violinschule.* There are many contributions and thoughts that are original to the bassoonist, like, for instance, those about the tutor structure. It is divided in two parts, something that is common from the 1830s onwards. The first part is more general and it includes chapters on the character of the bassoon, the instrument description, and name of parts, reed making, or basic musical theory. The second part is more specialized in performance practice issues. The method is broad and the topics are varied ranging from elementary questions to those aimed at professional musicians and guiding them on questions of performance in different contexts, from chamber and orchestral music to solo concertos.

Louis Marie Eugène Jancourt (1815-1901) developed a brilliant career as a bassoonist, occupying the most important orchestral positions in Paris. At the same time he made frequent appearances as a soloist, composing and arranging much music for his instrument. His *Méthode théorique et pratique pour le basson*, op. 15 was published in Paris in 1847. As Jancourt points out in the preface, the work appears as a response to the need to adapt performance to the mainstream, half a century after its foundation that the Conservatory of Paris methods were published, such as Étienne Ozi' *Nouvelle méthode de basson* from 1803.

> The great work about this instrument, both in theory and practice, is the Method by Ozi. It appeared more than half a century ago, and from then on, instrumental music has had so many modifications, the style has progressed so quickly that, despite the great merit of this work, it has become indispensable to meet the demands of our time[17].

Jancourt's method is divided in three parts. The first, more theoretical one, explains the origin of the instrument and its character together with the basics of music in the *Principes élémentaires de la musique*. The second part deals with many topics, from specific questions—like the position of the instrument or the embouchure—to per-

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16 See Áurea Dominguez, *Bassoon Playing in Perspective: Character and Performance Practice from 1800 to 1850* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 2013).

17 Jancourt, *Méthode pour le basson*, 1.
   « Le grand Ouvrage qui a traité de cet instrument, comme Théorie et pratique, est la Méthode d'Ozy (sic). Elle a paru il y a plus d'un demi siècle, et depuis ce temps, la musique instrumentale a reçu tant de modifications, le style a fait des progrès si rapides, que, malgré le grand mérite de cet ouvrage, il est devenu indispensable de se conformer aux exigences de notre époque »

formance practice issues. This part includes several exercises on scales and melodies from opera arias. The third part is practical, and it is formed by three great sonatas accompanied by bassoon, fifty melodic studies, and an arrangement for bassoon and piano of Beethoven's seventh symphony *Allegretto*.[18] The studies include many tempo changes and, for the first time in bassoon studies, they have metronome marks at the beginning.

However, the greatest and most obvious influence in Jancourt's tutor does not come from any French tutor following the Conservatory of Paris methods. Part of Jancourt's text is a French translation from Neukirchner's *Theoretisch practische Anleitung zum Fagottspiel*. This occurs not only with the incorporations made by the German bassoonist but also with those parts that Neukirchner took from Spohr *Violinschule*. This should be seen as one more example of the interrelation of the musical world in nineteenth-century Europe, where travelling and concerto tours were common among musicians. On the other hand, the studies and musical examples are originals by Jancourt, who throughout his life composed several short bassoon pieces. Leaving aside Neukirchner's influence, Jancourt's text looks to the past more than other tutors, such as those by Berr or Neukirchner.

Prosody of Articulation in Nineteenth-century Instrumental music and singing

In the late-eighteen century and early-nineteenth century, music is given a special weight in different philosophical writings through its relation to passion and language, as Downing Thomas has discussed in his seminal work.[19] Comparisons between language and music were common in aesthetic writings and these comparisons also occur in writings on performance practice where authors often use syntactic references and signs that belong to linguistics to describe performance practice issues. Besides these, it is important to mention the increase in performance indications and signs appearing in the score starting from the late eighteenth century. Although articulation signs such as dots, strokes, and slurs are commonly written in nineteenth-century scores, this is not always the case. There is still in force the Baroque tradition of letting the performer to decide what articulation to use. Moreover, there can be also several nuances in the interpretation of one or another articulation sign, even if it is written down in the score.

Leaving aside the several types of articulation used during the first half of the nineteenth century, there are some directions that remain constant during the period that help musicians choose from one or another articulation. For instance, in the case of wind instruments, it is common to use speech imitation to determine articulation. Bassoon tutors often make direct analogies to speech semantics, as claimed by the bassoonist Jancourt: "In the same way as we articulate long or short syllables when talking, there is a special articulation for every note in a musical piece where the notes are

18   Jancourt, *Méthode pour le basson*, 232.
19   See Downing Thomas, *Music and the Origins of Language: Theories from the French Enlightenment.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

slurred or separated".[20] At first, Jancourt's words can be seen as advice to singers rather than to bassoonists, since some topics, like this one, share a common language integrated into the general nineteenth-century performance practice no matter who the reader is. Moreover, singers also understand articulation similarly to the way Jancourt describes it.

Nevertheless, for singers it becomes necessary to stress the difference between articulation and pronunciation. A significant difference that can certainly have important results when extrapolating singing guidelines to the ones aimed at instruments. As seen in Garcia's tutor, as well as in other singing methods, the difference between the two concepts is defined around the idea that, while pronunciation of words is a fixed phenomenon, articulation is a malleable tool that the singer should adapt to the performance of each piece. This view is supported by Bernardo Mengozzi (1804) in his *Méthode de chant du conservatoire*:

> Very often the pronunciation is mistaken for articulation. It is essential to differentiate them. [...] Articulation is the main vehicle to make audible what differentiates syllables from each other, that is to say the consonants, with the appropriate degree of force needed for expressing the feelings placed in the singing. Moreover, [...] the pronunciation should be the same, but articulation varies.[21]

But where are the limits of the singer's flexibility in articulation? As we can gather from his writings, Garcia sets the limits in the character of the musical piece.[22] The meaning of the words, the dramatic situation and the personality of the character played would define the articulation. The image below illustrates some examples of flexible articulation depending on the dramatic situation and character of the music described by Garcia.[23] In the example, for instance, "hate" is performed with *staccato* articulation while, for "terror," Garcia suggests a particular stress described by several accents situated at the beginning of the bars.

It is possible, therefore, that by considering the articulation as depending on the text or the dramatic context of the music, it becomes easy to draw a parallel with how players applied articulation.

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20   Jancourt, *Méthode pour le basson*, 25.
       « De même qu'on articule les syllabes longues et brèves en parlant, de même il y a une articulation spéciale des notes dans un morceau de musique, on lie les notes ou on les détache ».
21   Bernardo Mengozzi, *Méthode de chant du conservatoire de musique contenant les principales de chant; des exercices pour la voix, des solfèges tirés de meilleurs ouvrages anciens et modernes ; et des airs dans tous les mouvements et les différents caractères* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de Musique, 1804), 63.
       « On confond assez ordinairement la Prononciation avec l'articulation. Il est essentiel de les distinguer. [...] L'articulation est la manière de faire sentir ce qui distingue principalement les syllabes entre elles, c'est-à-dire les consonnes, avec le dégré de force qui convient aux sentimens (sic) qu'on exprime et aux lieux où l'on chante. Ainsi [...] la prononciation doit être la même, mais l'articulation varie ».
22   Garcia, *Traité complet de l'art du chant*, 54-60.
23   Garcia, *Traité complet de l'art du chant*, 56-57.

Manuel Garcia's example of flexibility in articulation according to the dramatic situation and the character of the music

Same Idea… on the bassoon

A similar relationship to the one established by singers for differentiating pronunciation and articulation can be seen in instrumental tutors. Such is the case of Neukirchner's bassoon tutor, where he claims:

> Having the differences in articulations with their corresponding variety in musical figures and movements at his disposal, the player is able, as a speaker, to make meaningful and expressive sentences.[24]

Previously to this quote, Neukirchner presents the different possible types of attacks in the bassoon. And, just as if what he had explained were the key to pronunciation, he now invites the bassoonist to perform articulation as if the player were a speaker. This is not the only example, as bassoon tutors have several examples sharing this idea. Fréderic Berr, for instance, proposes a direct comparison between writing text and music when he relates punctuation to musical signs, both of which share a similar function. Hence, he establishes series of analogies connecting the two worlds. Berr, for example,

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24 Neukirchner, *Allgemeine Fagottschule,* 17.
    „Aus dieser Verschiedenheit der Artikulation und deren entsprechender Abwechslung und Vermischung in den Tonfiguren und Sätzen entspringt eine Fülle von Mannichfaltigkeit im Ausdruck und der Bedeutung, wie sie kaum besser selbst der Redner durch die für seinen Gegenstand ihm zu Gebote stehenden, Sinn enthaltenden Wörter zu geben vermag ".

relates a perfect cadence in music to a full stop in language, the imperfect cadence to a semicolon, and the interrupted cadences correspond to an exclamation mark.[25]

Berr is not the only exception; there are many musical authors who start their approach to this topic by making some kind of reference to the spoken word or to poetry. This is especially so in the sources linked to singing, such as Garcias' tutor. In it, he describes rhyme, with its caesuras and the accent regularity in its verses, as possessing the qualities which music should try to imitate.[26]

Violin indications following a prosodic performance from Charles de Bériot's *Méthode de violon*.[27]

Same idea… on the Violin

The instrument players' approach to the prosody and punctuation typical of the spoken language is not exclusive to wind instruments, and neither should it be understood as reminiscent of the Baroque period. References to the topic throughout the century are frequently from different sources. One of the most remarkable ones, for instance, is the case of Charles Bériot in his 1857 *Méthode de violon*, where he invites the violinist to imitate singing practices through speech.

To describe the practice, he explores topics applied to the violin like *Punctuation*[28] or *Syllabation*.[29] Bériot treats the violin as a speaker when, by the correct distribution of syllables, he brings the instrument performance closer to the voice. Although Bériot includes many examples from opera arias to illustrate his point, he expands this practice to include pure instrumental music. Therefore, in the chapter "On the prosody

25   Berr, *Méthode complète de basson,* 22.

26   Garcia, *Traité complet de l'art du chant* vol.2, 15.

27   Bériot, *Méthode de violon,* 211.

28   Charles-Auguste de Bériot, *Méthode de violon divisée en 3 parties,* op. 102 (Paris: Chez l'auteur, Mayence, Londres, Bruxelles: Schott, 1857), 206-210.

29   Bériot, *Méthode de violon,* 211.

of the bow" (*De la prosodie de l'archet*), Bériot uses examples from violin concertos by Beethoven or Viextemps.[30] Through these examples, he shows how to distribute bow strokes according to the same principles that may be applied to the voice.

In the illustration above, Bériot also illustrates several breathing markings that respond to performance practices more than to technical reasons. Those markings further support the idea of violin playing following a prosodic performance that otherwise would be thought to be characteristic of singing or even acting techniques.

From articulation to accentuation

During the first half of the nineteenth century, articulation was chosen and organized principally according to two factors. On one hand, as seen before, it was invariably dependent on the character of the composition. On the other hand, articulation plays an important role in the organization of the time signature, defining the inner hierarchy of measures and creating, therefore, a sort of accentuation.

The bond between articulation and metrical accent is especially explicit in the case of singing as, for instance, Domenico Corri shows in his *Singers Preceptor* from 1810. This is an important source for singing, as it is intended to cover a broad audience; from an amateur public, widely represented by the growing bourgeoisie, to professional singers.[31] After discussing briefly accentuation in even and triple time, Corri[32] points out, by using some musical examples, how composers create a natural accentuation when they make strong voiced consonants overlap with the strong beats of the measures. However, Corri claims that, even if accentuation is implicit in one way or another in compositions, to stress it more or less is the task of the performer.

This thread was picked up by Garcia in *L'Art du chant*, where accentuation plays an important role in sections like *L'Articulation dans le chant* "The articulation in singing" and particularly in *Distribution des paroles sous les notes* "Distribution of words on the notes". For Garcia, the singer should be aware always of the strength of certain consonants as opposed to the softness of vowels or voiceless consonants.[33] Consequently, the performer creates an articulation that allows a flexible accentuation, as you can see from the example taken from Garcia's tutor.[34] Also a translator wrote words in the wrong place, misleading the sense of accentuation.

The inner-bar metrical accents become especially important for the audience, who lack the score as a reference. Oboist Henri Brod, for instance, is quite explicit in his *Grand méthode de hautbois* about the use of articulation to stress this kind of accentuation:

> The objective of those articulations is to give lightness to the performance and to mark the beat at the beginning of each measure in a distinctive and precise

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30   See Bériot, *Méthode de violon*, 212-213.
31   See Domenico Corri, *The Singers Preceptor or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music* (London: Silvester, Longman & Orme, 1810)
32   Corri, *The Singers Preceptor* ,68.
33   Garcia, *Traité complet de l'art du chant* vol.2, 8-9.
34   Garcia, *Traité complet de l'art du chant* vol.2, 9

Accentuation indications from Garcia's *Traité*.[35] At the bottom, an example of how misplaced words after a bad translation of Haendel's Air build an accentuation that does not accompany the music.

manner, so that the audience may perfectly discern the rhythm and the movement of the music they are listening to.[36]

For Brod, one of the main functions articulation has is to mark the beats of the measure for a clear accentuation. Therefore, in his chapter on how to organize articulation, he takes accentuation into consideration by setting two general rules. First, Brod advises the player to always articulate the beginning of each measure. Second, he recommends in general to articulate strong beats rather than weak beats.[37]

Even when referring to oboe playing, his remarks bring up the idea of the so-called rule of the down-bow, still in use in the nineteenth century, but mostly present in the eighteenth-century string tutors, like Leopold Mozart's *Versuch einer gründlische Violin-schule* (1756). According to this rule, the beginning of each measure should start with a down-bow because it gives a stronger sound than the up-bow, producing a metrical accent in the music.

As the nineteenth century unfolds, a marked accentuation is still considered important, as shown by numerous references. Bassoonists also follow this trend by including several references in their tutors. Such is the case of Berr, who stresses the importance of metric accent to clarify the rhythm of the musical piece:

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35   Garcia, *Traité complet de l'art du chant* vol.2, 9
36   Henri Brod, *Grande méthode de hautbois* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1826-1835), 8.
         « Le but de ces articulations est de donner de la légèreté à l'exécution, et de marquer d'une manière distincte et précise, le commencement et les temps de chaque mesure, afin que l'auditeur puisse bien discerner le rythme et le mouvement de la musique qu'il entend ».
37   Brod, *Grande méthode de hautbois*, 7.

In order to make the rhythm clear it is necessary to determine the time signature from the beginning. When the strong beats are well marked, the ear is satisfied and it understands more easily the cleverness of a musical piece.[38]

Jancourt also spreads this idea throughout his tutor with several remarks that stress the great importance articulation has in performance. From some short advice on the importance of marking the strong and weak beats at the end of technical exercises, such as the chromatic ones,[39] to more complete explanations, like in the chapter on the performance of the bassoon as a member of the orchestra, Jancourt is very explicit about the need to accentuate only strong beats, unless it is marked otherwise by the composer.[40] It is not fortuitous that Jancourt chooses to write about accentuation in the chapter about the performance of accompaniment. A strict accentuation by the orchestra is needed to give a greater scale of action to the solo player and still keep the sense of rhythm of the music. This was a practice that was still in use, but as Brown maintains, it had its origin in previous centuries.[41] A broader perspective, but along the same lines, has been described by Garcia, who summarizes the role of the performer by establishing the inner accentuation using the distribution of words.

Musically, the two elements of speech are associated to two elements of the melody; the vowels to the sound, and the consonants to the rhythm. The consonant gives to the singer the same properties that the bow or the tonguing gives to instrumental players. In fact, the consonant is use to mark the rhythm, to make incisive, or to modify tempo and to accentuate rhythms[42]

Final Thoughts

This paper has argued that Manuel Garcia's work can be used to also study instrumental music performance practice in the nineteenth century. Despite his legacy, and important role in the history of music and Bel Canto, there are relatively few historical studies about Manuel Garcia in the area of performance practice.

The case-study research on articulation and accentuation has also shown the enormous influence of singing practices on instrumental music, and it remains an example of how Garcia's work can be put into practice by researchers in order to applied

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38 Berr, *Méthode complète de basson*, 21.
      « Pour faire comprendre le rythme on doit au commencement décider la mesure, lorsque les tems forts sont bien marqués l'oreille est satisfaite et l'on acquiert plus facilement l'intelligence d'un morceau ».
39 Jancourt, *Méthode pour le basson*, 68.
40 Jancourt, *Méthode pour le basson*, 53.
41 Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900* (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 27-29.
42 Garcia, *Traité complet de l'art du chant* vol. 2, 7.
      "Musicalement, les deux éléments de la parole s'associent aux deux éléments de la mélodie, les voyelles aux sons, les consonnes à la mesure. La consonne présente au chanteur les mêmes ressources que offre à l'instrumentiste le coup d'archet ou le coup de langue. En effet, la consonne sert à frapper la mesure, à la rendre incisive, á presser ou á ralentir le mouvement, á accentuer les rythmes".

Bel Canto performance technics to instrumental performance practice. The comparison between the use of articulation in the sung voice and articulation in instrumental technique has shown a new approach to performance practice studies in a context of a general tendency to view instrumental music as a lesser version of vocal music. Therefore, this research provides a framework for the exploration of other parameters, such as dynamics, tempo changes, ornamentation, and areas linked to singing in order to broaden the research on performance practice in different areas of music. Furthermore, more information on Manuel Garcia's singing techniques applied to instrumental music would help us to establish a greater degree of accuracy on this matter.

Abstract

Manuel Garcia is renowned as one of history's great teachers of singing as he developed, through experience and scientific observation, a ground-breaking method of vocal pedagogy. The paper analyses Garcia's work, with analogous instrumental tutors, in order to determine the actual influence of Garcia's work on instrumental music, with special focus on the bassoon as a case study. The aim of this paper is to establish a correlation between singing and instrumental practices in order to enrich research on nineteenth-century performance practice, providing a new approach to historical sources. The research proposes a new approach to Garcia's works in order to explore his influence not only on singing technique, but also on instrumental performance practice.

DR ROBIN ROLFHAMRE

Embellishing lute music: Using the Renaissance Italian *passaggi* practice as a model and pedagogical tool for an increased improvisation vocabulary in the French Baroque style

Introduction

Early seventeenth century lute improvisation — a phrase that by its mere utterance may cause debates full of uncertainties, fears and fantasies. What is proper improvisation? How did they do it 360 years ago? Even, how can we research what is non-existent, that is, not recorded, not clearly written down or captured by any other means? The discourse of historic improvisation practices clearly gives rise to many problems and it is a complex subject to treat. An understanding of improvisation practice, no matter what period of time the scholar or performer seeks to address, must be bound to a thorough understanding of cultural practice and musical ideologies, an understanding reaching a level of artistic expression not possible without actually being there learning from the masters. It concerns a level of musical expertise that is very difficult to explain in writing. How, then, can we teach the student, or even ourselves, to improvise in the styles of Early Modern music? In this article I seek to revive a systematic practice of teaching ornamentation and improvisation from the Renaissance scholars — that is, the *passaggi* practice — and adopt it to function as a methodology for Baroque music. This is done in order to present a practice that can be used in tuition, to have new generations of musicians improvise in a comfortable manner using a broad vocabulary.

Before any discussion on sources can be presented, however, we must acknowledge some key features to consider during a study of this character. First, that any improvisation attempting to follow a historic practice must exist through a dialogue between past and present. If, for instance, the French lutenist, educator and composer Charles Mouton (1617-between 1700 and 1710) improvised playing whatever chord, string or technique (provided it could be expressed through a medium enabling us to perceive

it), we would today probably come to label it 'proper baroque improvisation.' Mouton would then have made musical decisions based on the contemporary practice that his musical mind was brought up with and accustomed to. But when *we* improvise in this style of music ourselves we are often left with a feeling of uncertainty, asking ourselves if this is 'correctly executed.'

Second, improvisation differs from composition in that it is not fully scheduled before the performance, nor is it only pure fantasy at the present moment. Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that when we are speaking of non-notated improvisation we must also assume that precomposed versions of a musical work could be transmitted audibly — non-written music does not necessarily equal improvised music.[1] It is thus necessary to establish 'improvisation' as terminology before the study can proceed, as well as to present the perspective from which I will address it. According to Oxford's *Grove Music Online*, improvisation is:

> The creation of a musical work, or the final form of a musical work, as it is being performed. It may involve the work's immediate composition by its performers, or the elaboration or adjustment of an existing framework, or anything in between. To some extent every performance involves elements of improvisation, although its degree varies according to period and place, and to some extent every improvisation rests on a series of conventions or implicit rules. The term 'extemporization' is used more or less interchangeably with 'improvisation'. By its very nature — in that improvisation is essentially evanescent — it is one of the subjects least amenable to historical research.[2]

Note the statement: '[I]t is one of the subjects least amenable to historical research.' This, I think, is true, but the fact that it is not greatly amenable should not discourage scholarly interest. It should rather increase scholarly interest as it truly is a field of research in need of further investigation; hence the present study. Dolan and colleagues write:

> Improvisation is rarely associated with western contemporary classical music making, either in terms of educational curricula or mainstream classical music performance […] Indeed, classical musicians often report anxiety and/or uncertainty when faced with the prospect of improvising […] However, improvisation has played a pivotal role in the education and practice of many of the most commonly performed classical composers, many of whom were known to their contemporaries as great improvisers. Composers such as Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Liszt and Chopin were known to showcase their musical virtuosity by producing works spontaneously in performance.[3]

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1   Mattes, R., 'Ornamentation & improvisation after 1300.' In Duffin, R. W. (Ed.) *A performer's guide to Medieval music.* (USA: Indiana University Press, 2000): 470–481, 470.

2   Bruno Nettl, et al., 'Improvisation.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press, accessed October 7, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13738.

3   Dolan, D., Sloboda, J., Jensen, H. J., Crüts, and Feygelson, E., 'The improvisatory approach to classical music performance: An empirical investigation into its characteristics and impact.' *Music Performance Research* 6 (2013): 1–38, 2.

'[I]mprovisation has played a pivotal role in the education and practice of many of
the most commonly performed classical composers' they write.[4] This would suggest
that we need to attempt reaching an understanding of Early Modern improvisatory
practices in order to better understand contemporary music performance and that, by
seeking to revive these traditions, we may be able to interact with the music in a man-
ner that is more true to the nature in which it once was brought to life than merely
playing the music as it is written on the paper. Within Early Modern scholarly circles,
statements like these are widely accepted theoretically but few directions have been
given on how to teach it to students. It goes without saying that the modern performer
must learn as much as possible about the specific cultural practice he or she wishes to
perform and create his or her own conception of what that practice is.

As an active practising performer of this music myself, I acknowledge that my ap-
proach to the subject is pragmatic rather than theoretical. Therefore, in this article I
do not wish to propose any bold statement saying this is what was being improvised,
because I do not think that answer even exists. What I would like to present, how-
ever, is a platform from which a practising artist can develop his or her own approach
towards improvisatory elements, at different levels, focusing on late seventeenth cen-
tury French lute music. Clearly, improvisation is a large subject; I will therefore focus
on the elaboration, or adjustment, of an existing framework in order to restrict this
present discussion to a manageable format. To present my argument I will first devote
myself to compare historical sources on improvisation, followed by a presentation
of the *passagi* practice as presented by Giovanni Luca Conforto (1560–1608), since
his publication stands out as a good example of the methodology I wish to develop.
Having established the methodology, I will proceed to present thoughts on how the
Renaissance practice can be translated into a Baroque lute aesthetics by drawing atten-
tion to a few selected seventeenth century sources on lute performance. Versions of the
methodology I am presenting are indeed already in use by some esteemed performers
today, but there is still a need for putting this practice into writing, making it available
for new generations of musicians seeking to expand their vocabulary.

In order to learn a musical performance practice we can interact with three sorts of in-
formation. The first is a literary corpora of scholarship and primary sources that we can
read, reflect upon and use to form our own ideologies. The second is to listen to mod-
ern performers and analyse what they are doing with the musical material. Musicians
such as Hopkinson Smith, Rolf Lislevand, Xavier Diaz LaTorre, and so forth all take
more liberty in their interpretation of the musical work in their recorded and live per-
formances than what the original manuscripts and publications state. These decisions
again follow their own approach to the music based on literary and audible investiga-
tions and learning. Third, is the instrument itself, that is, what is idiomatic, *sounds* good

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4   Ralf Mattes, for one, writes about medieval music practice: 'These sources [i.e. organ treatises such as
     Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 775 and ms. Cgm 811] shows us that medieval music
     teaching was mostly teaching by example. The student could memorize a great variety of patterns
     that later could be used to elaborate a given tenor.' Mattes, R., *Improvisation*, 478–479.

(to our present ears) and what makes the instrument audible in a given context (a solo performance allows for a softer, more subtle technique than does a continuo-setting).

For the practising performer today, the performance must not only relate to historical sources, but also satisfy the appreciation or expectation of the modern audience; otherwise there would be no audience there to enjoy the concert. There is always a balance between how we interpret music according to how we interpret sources and what we today think sounds good. This dialogue between present and past can be formalised into a five-level structure, where each feature can interact across the levels in multiple combinations and overlap each other depending on the present context:

1. Historical evidence
2. Interpretation and performance of that evidence
3. Compared to other specialized performers
4. Compared to modern day musical practices
5. Adopted to modern ears and taste.[5]

Improvisation as a general practice in the Early Modern period

Again in Oxford Music Online, we read: 'A common feature of improvised music is a point of departure used as the basis of performance. No improvised performance is totally without stylistic or compositional basis. The number and kinds of obligatory features (referred to here as the 'model') vary by culture and genre.'[6] Considered in a historical context, this statement is true indeed. Michael Collins and Stewart A. Carter[7] write that, although the emphasis shifted from the horizontal (linear, melodic) in the Renaissance to the vertical (harmonic) in the Baroque around the seventeenth century following the introduction of basso continuo and the newer emphasis of emotional qualities, we can still see how earlier practices are present in the seventeenth century. Howard Mayer Brown performs a study of improvisation in his *Embellishing 16th century music* (1976).[8]

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5   By 'modern taste' in this sense, I mean something a performer needs to relate to in order to gain a
     dedicated audience. The 'momentum' of the actual performance situation, or recording, presents a
     range of perspectives related to cultural studies, psychology and other related topics, a range that
     turns the discourse into something else than what concerns me here. The process described relates
     to the formation of a musical presentation (i.e. something to be perceived) where 'modern taste' is
     a perceptual filter that governs musicians' understandings of historical and contemporary influences, rather than how something is actually perceived by an audience during a musical performance. All musicians relate to historical music through their own taste; their 'modern taste' and not a
     historically distant theoretical taste.
6   Nettl et al., *Improvisation*.
7   Nettl et al., *Improvisation*.
8   Brown, H. M., *Embellishing 16th century music* (USA: Oxford University Press, 1976). Other useful resources include: Kite-Powell, J. (ed.) *A performer's guide to Renaissance music*. Second edition, revised
     and expanded by Kite-Powell, J. (USA: Indiana University Press, 2007); Carter, S. (ed.) *A performer's
     guide to seventeenth-century music*. Second edition, revised and expanded by Kite-Powell, J. (USA: Indiana University Press, 2012); Neumann, F. *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque music: With
     special emphasis on J. S. Bach* (USA: Princeton University Press, 1983); Atlas, A. W. *Renaissance music:
     Music in Western Europe 1400–1600* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998).

His well-founded inquiry, emphasising Italian sources, suggests that, in the renaissance (actually from the middle ages on), it was common to improvise not only ornaments, but also counterparts, imitations and even complete musical works. At the end of the book, Brown points out three kinds of improvised ornamentations in sixteenth century music: i) simple decoration; ii) virtuoso display; and iii) acoustical reinforcement. Although ornaments were not idiomatically designed, the nature and limitations of different instruments were recognised and acoustic shortcomings were no different. Ornamentation could make the sound of an instrument greater and more impressive to meet challenging acoustics or to attempt to keep the original spirit of a piece of music transposed from a larger ensemble to a weaker instrument perhaps playing alone. Agostino Agazzari (1607) speaks of invention and variety when focusing on the lute. According to him one must find a balance between displaying technical virtuosity and being reserved, all depending on the context:

> Onde chi suona leuto, essendo stromento nobilißimo fra gl'altri, deve nobilmente suonarlo con molta inventione, e diversità; non come fanno alcuni, i quali per haver buona dispostezza di mano, non fanno altro chi tirare, e diminuire dal principio al fine, e maßime in compagnia d'altri stromenti, che fanno il simile, dove non si sente altro che zappa, e confusione, cosa dispiacevole, et ingrata, à chi ascolta. Devesi dunque, hora con botte, ripercosse dolci; hor con passagio largo, et hora stretto, e raddoppiate, poi cõ qualche sbordonata, con belle gare e perfidie, repetendo, e cavando le medisime fuge in diverse corde, e luoghi; in somma con lunghi gruppi e trilli, et accenti à suo tempo, intrecciare le voci, che dia vaghezza al concerto, e gusto, e diletto all'uditori: guardando con giudizio di non offendersi l'un l'altro.[9]

> (He who plays the lute, being the most noble of instruments, must play it nobly with much invention and variety; not as is done by those whom, because they have much grace in their hand, do nothing but play runs and divisions from beginning to end. Especially when playing with other instruments which do the same, where one hears nothing but babel and confusion, which displeases and disagrees with those who listen. Sometimes, therefore, he must use gentle strokes and repercussions; sometimes slow *passagio*; sometimes rapid and repeated ones; sometimes with some bass strings, sometimes with beautiful challenges and deceits; repeating and bringing out these figures on different strings and places; In short, with long groups, trills and accents, each in its turn, to interweave the voices so that he gives grace to the consort, and tastefulness and pleasure to the listeners, judiciously seeking not to offend one or the other.)

Agazzari categorises instruments into two categories, one of foundation and one of ornamentation; he placed the lute in both categories.[10]

9   Agazzari, A., *Del Sonare sopra'l basso con tutti stromenti e dell'uso loro nel conserto* (Siena: Domenico Falcini, 1607), 8.
10   Agazzari, *Sonare*, 3.

Following the *passagi* tradition (i.e. diminution) nurtured by authors such as Bovicelli (1594), Dalla Casa (1584; 1584) and Conforto (1593)[11] — the latter whom presents various possible *passagi* based on intervals, and speaks of a copy-paste methodology for diminutions[12] — it was still common in early Italian Baroque to embellish existing parts as well as creating or improvising entire counterparts.[13] The differences invoked by the more modern emphasis of the vertical were 1) more elaborate dotted rhythms to suit the emotional value of the text (for instance sobbing or sighing) rather than smoothly flowing, linear movements; and 2) a new vocabulary of shorter embellishments that to some extent had a function of elaborating harmonies rather than solely re-inventing melodic lines. In Italy, especially, there was a tradition closely connected to the Viola Bastarda, having musicians improvising freely over a precomposed, polyphonic composition.[14]

Giovanni Luca Conforto, in his *Breve et facile maniera … a far passagi…* (1593),[15] teaches us 'a far passagi sopra tutte le note che si desidera per cantare […] ma ancora per potere da se seria maestri scrivere ogni opera et aria passeggiata […]'[16] (to make passages over all the notes you want to sing [...] but still to be able to, as serious masters write, make passages in every work and air). This is a practice that is not only applicable to a specific genre or instrument, but rather to music in general:

> Così mi son indotto à far la presente regola, & à mettere insieme questi Passaggi, che in molti & diversi modi si possono usare per far la dispositione cantando

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11 Bovicelli, G. B., *Regole, passagi di musica* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1594); Dalla Casa, G., *Il vero modo di diminuir.* Libro primo (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1584); Dalla Casa, G., *Il vero modo di diminuir.* Libro seconda (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1584); Conforto, G. L., *Breve et facile maniera d'essercitarsi … a far passagi …* (Roma: s.n., 1593).

12 It is interesting to note that Simpson also presents this sort of methodology in Simpson, C., *The division-viol, or, the art of playing ex tempore upon a ground.* Editio secunda (London: W. Godbid for Henry Brome at the Gun in Ivy-lane, 1665), 53–55.

13 A related phenomenon is the *partimento* tradition, evolving around the late seventeenth century to the nineteenth century, where a musician is given a bass line from which he or she improvises a composition. Although, this was also used as a pedagogical tool, it differs from the *passaggi* practice in its foundation. The *partimento* practice only presents the bassline (with or without figures) leaving the performer to solve the rest of the equation guided by the rules of counterpoint, but in the *passaggi* practice the student is given a directly useable vocabulary (*pigliarne copia*; seize and copy) to bind together two already present notes; i.e. bridging from point A to B and thus being less occupied with inventing or re-inventing counterpoint. This makes the latter more easily grasped and more supportive in the process of building a vocabulary, while the first serves well as exercises for more advanced improvisers. Also, given that the *passaggi* practice seeks to embellish already existing musical material, where the counterpoint has already been established according to the tradition of the composition, it is better suited to learning how to improvise over already composed pieces of music. The *partimento* is better suited to learning completely free improvisation or the foundations for continuo playing. Grove Music Online writes: 'more likely it [i.e. partimento] reflects the common Italian practice c1700 of writing bass lines for keyboard players to work into fully-fledged pieces;' see Williams, P. and Cafiero, R. 'Partimento.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press, accessed 24 May 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20981.

14 Nettl et al., *Improvisation.*

15 Conforto, *Breve.*

16 Conforto, *Breve,* 1.

sopra tutte le note ferme: & per compiacere à gl'amici, & per giovare à chi desidera di cantar bene […].[17]

(So I am inclined to make this rule, and putting together these passages, which in many & various ways you can use to make the disposition to sing above all fixed notes: & to please friends, and for those who want to benefit to sing well)

This is further exemplified by: '[…] non solamente li passagi per passaggiare madrigali & arie, ma anco le cadenze per cantare solo, ò accompagnato'[18] (not only for those passages made in madrigals & arias, but also cadences when singing alone, or accompanied).[19] His method is very simple as he provides multiple possible passages over various intervals, that are also of different lengths, that a musician can learn, memorise and, so-to-say, copy-paste into their own musical situation:

[…] li quali in nove giorni si possono imparare, & tenerli in memoria, & in venti ò poco più essercitandoli si possono fare, cantando sicuramente in ogni libro all'improviso // Et per voler passaggiare qual si voglia opera, basterà solo considerare la qualita delle note, & il sito atto ad essere passaggiato, & poi secondo il loro valore, di essi pigliarne copia.[20]

(you can learn them in nine days, and keep them in memory, and in twenty or a little more you can exercise them, certainly singing from any book without delay. // And to choose what passages you want to work with you only have to consider the quality of the notes, and the suitability of the place to make passages, and according to their value, [and] seize them [from my examples] and copy [them to your performance]).

At the end of his instruction, he also draws attention to the benefits of this practice, as well as further clarifying the improvisatory aspects of the methodology:

Possono ancora quelli che si dilettano di passaggiare, pigliarne quattro, ò più note alla volta di quelle che fanno il soggetto, & ponerle l'una appresso all'altra […], & essercitandosi cantandoli alla mente, diventeranno con prezza agili di dispositione.

Servono anco per quelli che vogliono essecitarsi con la viola, ò altri strumenti da fiato, con sonarli spesso, ó scriverli con la maniera già detta; che usandoli,

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17   Conforto, *Breve*, 34.
18   Conforto, *Breve*, 36.
19   In comparison, Adriano Banchieri, in his *Cartella overo regole utilissime*, comments that 'Altri Fioretti si puol fare, ma tenēdo questi alla memoria serviranno in molte occasioni, & se bene gli habbiamo posti alle Cadenze sole del Soprano niente di meno servono a tutte le altre parte eccetto il Basso' (You can do other figures [lit. flowers], but taking these into memory will serve on many occasions, and if we have the good places in the cadences [we can place them both in] the soprano as well as any other party except in the bass); Banchieri, A., *Cartella overo regole utilissime à quelli che desiderano imparare il Canto Figurato*, prima edizione (Venetia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1601).
20   Conforto, *Breve*, 38.

gioverà à far la mano leggiadra, l'arcata dolce, conoscere il genere del passagio, come si scrivono, & resterà nella memoria la diversità de essi: & havendo so-pra ciò fatta bona prattica, si possono poi dimostrare, sonandoli in compagnia all'improviso.[21]

(Those who can further take delight in making passages seizing four or more notes at a time of those who make the subject, and put on one and then the other [...], and practicing by singing them in the mind, will soon be at a praised disposition.

They also serve those who want to execute them with the viola, or other wind instruments, often having them sound, or writing them in the manner already mentioned; by using them, it will benefit to make the hand graceful, and the bow soft, to know the kind of passage, as you write, and the diversity of them will remain in the memory: and having the good practice above, you can then demonstrate them, having them sound together at the spur of the moment.)

Giovanni Battista Bovicelli, in his *Regole, passagi di musica* (1594),[22] also treats the art of *passagi* and focuses even more on features related to the voice than Conforto. Bovicelli starts his treatise by providing specific cases from which he presents proper performance of *passagi*. In these examples he focuses much on matters closely related to singing and how one is to place syllables correctly when performing passages. He emphasises that a singer cannot only think of the notes, but must also carefully treat the text, even when improvising, in a manner that serves the music well: 'Cosi anco nel cantare, e particolarmente nel formare i Passaggi, non solo si deve por mente alle note, ma anco alle parole; poi che si ricerca gran giuditio nel compartirle bene'[23] (So also when singing, and particularly in forming *passagi*, you must not only mind the notes, but also the words; which you then search great judgment in dividing them well [i.e. the syllables of the words]). He further draws a connection between the *passagi* practices for voices and instruments, writing that voices can attempt the same approach as the instruments if they know how to do it well: 'Et ancora che la continu-atione di molti salti insieme sia più proprio delli Stromenti, che della Voce, ad ogni modo, se si sanno accommodar ben con le parole, riescono anco nella Voce […]'[24] (And even if the continuation of several jumps together is more proper for instruments than for the voice. They can also, however, if you know how to place the words well, be successful for the voice …).

A similar practice of embellishing and varying melodic lines as that described by the Italians above is also presented by Englishman Christopher Simpson in his *The Division-Viol* (1665).[25] When presenting his argument he appears to follow a simi-lar discourse as, for instance, Bovicelli and Ortiz, displaying many examples and in-

21   Conforto, *Breve*, 39–40.
22   Bovicelli, *Regole*.
23   Bovicelli, *Regole*, 7.
24   Bovicelli, *Regole*, 15.
25   Simpson, *Division-viol*, 27–61.

structions following the same model found in Italian sources such as Conforto and Rogniono.[26] We can take notice of comments such as: 'In this manner of Play, which is the perfection of the *Viol*, or any other Instrument, if it be exactly performed, a man may shew the Excellency both of his Hand and Invention, to the delight of those that hear him;'[27] and:

> True it is, that Invention is a gift of Nature, but much improved by Exercise and Practice. He that hath it not in so high a measure as to play *ex tempore* to a *Ground*, may, notwithstanding give both himself and hearers sufficient satisfaction in playing such Divisions as himself or others have made for that purpose […].[28]

What makes Simpson's treatise somewhat different from previous sources is that it is rich in both practical examples and text explaining these practices. In his book we find many practical suggestions, such as:

> The Rules of *Descant-Division* are the same I gave you in joyning another Part to your *Bass*; That is, you may begin with a Third, Fifth or Eighth to the *Ground-Note*; passing on to meet the next note also in Third, Fifth, or Eighth: provided you avoyd the consecution of Perfects of the same kind, as hath been delivered. […] A *Discord* is never used to the Beginning of the *Ground-Note*, unless in *Syncope* […].[29]

Here he emphasises the connection between composition and descant-division, that is, the addition of *ex tempore* play by the musician himself. However, an even more revealing passage can be found stating that:

> IN Playing to a *Ground* we exercise the whole Compass of the *Viol*, acting therein sometimes the Part of a *Bass*, sometimes a *Treble* or some other Part. From hence proceed Two kinds of Division, *viz.* a *Breaking of the Ground*, and a *Descanting upon it:* Out of which two, is generated a Third sort of Division; to wit a *Mixture* of Those, one with the other; which Third or last sort, is expressed in a two fold Manner; that is, either in Single or in Double Notes.
> These several sorts of Division are used upon the *Bass-Viol* very promiscuously, according to the Fancy of the Player or Composer […].[30]

Another earlier Englishman, Thomas Morley (1557/58-1602), speaks of sophisticated vocal performances incorporating imitations, canons, double counterpoints and inversions in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597).[31] Many of the main values given in this book resembles those of Simpson (although the aesthetic is more modern in the latter), but it is difficult sometimes to clearly understand if Morley is indeed speaking of improvisation (i.e. on the spur of the moment) or composition (creat-

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26   This is very clear in for instance Simpson, *Division-viol*, 41.
27   Simpson, *Division-viol*, 27.
28   Simpson, *Division-viol*, 27.
29   Simpson, *Division-viol*, 35
30   Simpson, *Division-viol*, 28.
31   Nettl et al., *Improvisation*.

ing the music before performing it). In his examples, written as a dialogue between two or three persons, there are no obvious indicators of time proportions between performance examples and instructions; nor if they recall true events or simply are the products of pure imagination in order to make a point. Perhaps this is because improvisation and composition are so closely linked — that is, that they follow the very same principles of harmony, voice leading and aesthetics — that a distinction is not necessary at all: '*I* [sic] will set downe those rules which may serve him both for descant and voluntary.'[32]

Variation is clearly demanded in all instances: '*Ma*. [i.e. Master says to scholar] You have maintained your point indeed, but after such a manner as no bodie will commend: for the latter halfe of your lesson is the same that your first was, without any alteration;'[33] and 'Likewise the more varietie of points bee shewed in one song, the more is the *Madrigal* esteemed.'[34] When the third person, *Polymathes*, is introduced in the third part of the book, he is asked to sing upon a given ground ('Here is one sing upon it'); and, during the course of the tuition, he performs another three different melodies or basses upon the same ground:

> for we must not thinke but hee that can formally and artificiallie put there foure, five, six or more parts together, may at his ease sing one part upon a ground without great studie, for that singing extempore upon a plainsong is indeede a peece of cunning, and very necessarie […].[35]

There are however some exceptions from proper voice leading and harmony to consider:

> And even as one with a quick hand playing upon an instrument, shewing in voluntarie the agilitie of his fingers, will by the hast of his conveniance cloke many faultes, which if they were stoode upon would mightilie offend the eare, so theose musicians because the faultes are quickly overpast, as being in short notes, thinke them no faultes but yet wee must learne to distinguish betwixt an instrument playing division, and a voice expressing a dittie […].[36]

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32   Morley, T., *A plaine and easie introduction to practical music*. First edition (London: Peter Short, 1597), 126. Consider this in relation to Simpson: 'The chief Mysterie of Division to a Ground may be referred to these three Heads. First, That is be harmonious to the holding Note. Secondly, That it come off so, as to meet the next Note of the Ground in a smooth and natural passage. Thirdly, Or if it pass into Discords, that they be such as are aptly used in composition;' Simpson *Division-viol*, 30.

33   Morley, *Plaine and easie*, 84. This can be seen in line with Giulio Caccini's remark in 1601: '[…] oltre che usando anco tal volta o l'una, & or l'altra si potrà variare, essendo molto necessaria la variazione in quest'arte […]' (in addition to using also this time, or one or the other, you can vary it, variation is very necessary in this art); Caccini, G., *Le nuove musiche* (Firenze: I Marescotti, 1601), 6.

34   Morley, *Plaine and easie*, 172.

35   Morley, *Plaine and easie*, 117–121.

36   Morley, *Plaine and easie*, 150. Simpson writes similarly about mistakes in live performances: 'I cannot but take notice of an error which I have observed in some reputed excellent Violists; who in playing a *Consort-Bass*, would sometimes at the very *Close*, run down by degrees to the Concluding-Note; than which nothing is more improper: for, if any *upper Part* do fall from a Fifth to an Eighth (a thing most frequent) the *Bass*, by such a Running down by degrees, doth make two prohibited Eighths to the said Part'; Simpson, *Division-viol*, 34.

Now we can discern a number of different sorts and levels of improvisation (see Table 1 below), ranging from a very basic level (e.g. agogics, tempo and articulations) to high-risk improvisations such as diminutions, adding new melodic materials or counterparts and real time compositions. The latter is particularly evident through the improvisation of fantasias and preludes, but it was indeed not uncommon in contemporary operas to ask for entire movements to be improvised by the performers (sometimes only indicated by words; sometimes only presenting a melody with a bassline).[37]

There are certainly some obvious differences in the aesthetic expressions of the Italian and English styles, but it is interesting to note the extent to which their respective theorists and instructors agree on the practical paths in which specific styles can develop. We have seen literature emphasising the importance of variation, division, the real time improvisation of counter parts and multi part harmony. We have seen various sources offering solutions to various situations that the performer can copy-paste into their own practice. Equally, we have seen that rules developed for composition also apply to improvisation, although it has been agreed upon that those rules are not always followed perfectly (often as a result of ignorance, rapid playing or due to what is idiomatic for the specific instrument). There are, of course, a number of aspects that need full attention; following Table 1 below, it is Level III that I will adress in this paper, focusing on melodic variation and improvisation upon a given melodic line.[38]

Level III Least foreseeable High risk	diminutions altering harmony adding counterparts adding new melodic material changing register improvising over given bass-lines real-time composing etc.	**Less close to original** 'Not what is written'
Level II Less foreseeable Higher risk	ornamenting stile brisée breaking and prolonging chords reducing or filling out chords and parts etc.	
Level I Highly foreseeable Low risk	rhythmic flexibility and agogics dynamic flexibility flexible tempos eltering articulations etc.	**Close to original** 'As it is written'

Table 1. Different levels of improvisation.

37   Nettl, et al., *Improvisation*.

38   Because the act of embellishing an already existing melodic line presumes that there is a composition to begin with, a set structure that is to be embellished, I will not present any thoughts on counterpoint or more free composition (such as *partimento*). Focusing more on linear movement between points in an already established harmonisation and counterpoint, such matters are not in the scope of this present article.

Conforto's method

Among the methods mentioned earlier, Conforto stands out as the most pragmatic and clear methodology. This has to do with his examples being note-based rather than text-based and that it offers the easily grasped copy-paste mentality (*pigliarne copia*). In Example 1 below we see an excerpt from his book showing his suggested *passagi* for a major second interval; 50 examples in all. Similar examples are given for most intervals, both ascending and descending. According to his model then, one can identify an interval in the music one plays, find that in his book and copy-paste one of the examples into the given musical context (cf. 'you can learn them in nine days, and keep them in memory, and in twenty or a little more you can exercise them, certainly from singing from any book without delay' cited earlier). Tempo is to be adopted to the context. This shows a level of vocabulary use that is highly pragmatic and easily grasped by a student, which is why I have chosen his work as the foundation for my approach. Example 2 below, presents this method in practise upon a fictional melody, where all cells are directly copied from Conforto's book.

Example 1. The first interval and its *passagi* from Giovanni Luca Conforto's *Breve et facile maniera … a far passagi…* (1593), 3-4.

Example 2. Conforto's (1593) *pigliarne copia* in practise.

This logic also explains some pieces found in the repertoire, which, in their original
version, are not inspiring enough to be played at a concert because of uncomforta-
ble harmonic progressions and lack of clear direction and logic. With the use of the
pigliarne copia methodology however, copy-pasting from Conforto's book into a piece
(in this case by Dalza; see Ex. 3 below), can glue the parts of the original structure to-
gether, creating a composition that, by itself, also functions as a work (see Ex. 4). It is
this method that I wish to adopt to Baroque repertoire music.
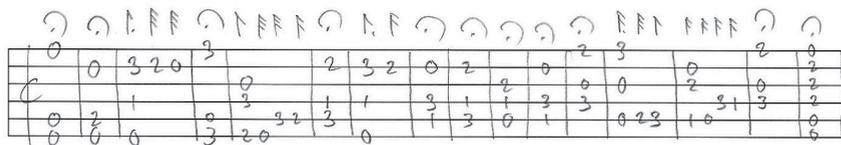
Example 3. Joan Ambrosio Dalza (1508) 'Tastar de corde,' tablature.

Example 4. Dalza (1508) 'Tastar de corde,' transcription and possible *passagi* version.

Acquiring a French, lute-specific vocabulary[39]

French lute sources varied on the subject of improvisation. The sources that provide discussions on ornamentation in their *avertisement* only present legends of what specific signs mean. From these instructions, we may reach an understanding of the vocabulary; however, the more elaborate melodic excursions remain unclear. The lute music collections of Gallot, Gaultier, Mouton and Perrine[40] mention nothing directly on the subject of improvisation. Diminution practices were present in French music, through phenomena such as *air de cour* and the *double* (i.e. often composed variations), but instructions and effective pedagogical methodologies are scarce. Either improvisation was no issue, which is somewhat unlikely, or perhaps it was such an integrated part of musicianship that it needed no comment. Denis Gaultier writes in the introduction to his book that one of the reasons motivating him to publish his musical works is that he has come to understand that his pieces had been altered beyond recognition as they had been passed around the country.[41] Did this comment perhaps imply that personal interpretation (a kind of improvisation) had morphed the music beyond recognition (cf. the earlier mentioned late Renaissance conflict between composer and virtuoso, expression and ornamentation)? Unfortunately, these publications, when dealing with improvisation, raise questions rather than answer them. To fully treat these questions, I would need a different context, and for that reason I will let them pass as rhetorical questions.

The lute instruction book by Rogers (*The Burwell lute tutor*; c. 1660–1672)[42] provides us with more to work with. There are some vague indications at the early parts of the book, such as: 'It is a gift of God and nature to be an excellent lutenist [as it] depend[s] upon the imagination;' 'fashions of playing and composing;' and 'all his [i.e. the lute] beauties are different according to the genius of the lute master that composes our plays, and dives in that spring of science and charms.' What is truly interesting to notice here are the uses of words like 'imagination,' 'fashion on playing and composing,' and 'different according to the genius' which all may indicate that improvisation, of some kind, is part of a good performance. Rogers later points out the clear inconsistencies between tablature and performed work, also that the tutoring master may change his instructions upon playing from one day to another. It would

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39   Portions of this section was previously published in my doctoral dissertation, but has been revised, edited and put into a new context here; Rolfhamre, R. *The popular lute: An Investigation of the Function and Performance of Music in France between 1650 and 1700* (PhD dissertation, University of Agder, 2014).

40   See for instance: Gallot, J., *Pieces de lvth composéés sur differens modes* (Paris: H. Bonneüil, s.n.); Gaultier, D., *Pièces de luth sur trois différents modes nouveaux* / [Denis & Ennemond Gaultier:] *Livre de tablature des pièces de luth sur plusieurs différents modes, avec quelques règles qu'il faut observer pour le bien toucher.* c. 1670/c.1680. (Genève: Minkoff Reprint, 1975); Mouton, C., *Pièces de luth sur different modes.* 1698 (Gèneve: Minkoff Reprint, 1978); Perrine, P., *Livre de musique pour le lut* (Paris: Perrine, 1679).

41   Gaultier, *Pièces*, Book 1: 2.

42   I have used Dart's translation of the book into modern English when quoting Rogers, since the original can be difficult to read and understand. I have compared Dart's translations with the original and I agree with his solutions; see: Dart, T., 'Miss Mary Burwell's Instruction Book for the Lute.' *The Galpin Society Journal, 11*(May, 1958). The original document can be found in: Rogers, J., *The Burwell lute tutor*. c. 1660–1672. Introductory study by Robert Spencer (England: Boethius Press, 1974).

appear as though he blames this phenomenon upon the master's ego, protecting his position among colleagues and students. The 'soul' of the lute, he points out, cannot be taught, but is better stolen by hearing the masters play. A musician must be well acquainted with the proper key in order to provide grace and sweetness 'without running into strange keys which have no affinity with the air of the song.' A lutenist may even vary a piece by beginning 'a tune upon any of the parts, then join one string to it, then two, then three [... etc.] Sometimes in a song or good air you make the bass or any other part sing instead of the treble.' Perhaps the clearest lead in the book on the subject of improvisation is provided when he further implies that if a lutenist is not a competent composer he must satisfy himself by playing music by other composers. He writes: 'In that also he must shake off self-love, in playing those lessons [i.e. pieces] as the author does, without altering or adding anything of his own.'[43]

Thomas Mace, on the other hand, directs our attention to the very problem of the publications of his French contemporaries, in his *Musick's Monument* (1676):

> The *French* (who were generally accounted *Great Masters*) seldom or never would *prick* [intabulate] their *Lessons* as *They Play'd them*, much less Reveal any thing (further than of necessity they must) to the very *Art*, or *Instrument*, which I shall *manifest* and very *plain*.[[44]]
>
> Nor was there, nor yet is there *Any* Thing more constantly to be observed among *Masters*, than to be *Very Sparing* in their *communications* concerning *Openess*, *Plainness*, and *Freeness*; either with *Parting* with their *Lessons*, or *Imparting* much of *Their Skill* to their *Scholars*; more than to shew them the *Ordinary way* how to play such and such *Lessons*.
>
> This hath been, and still is the *Common Humour*, ever since *my Time*
>
> So that it is no marvel, that it continues *Dark* and *Hidden* to *All*, excepting some *Few*, who make it their *Chief Work* to *Practice*, and *Search* into *its Secrets*.
>
> Which when they have done, and with *Long Pains*, and much *Labour obtained*, THEY DYE, AND ALL THEIR SKILL AND EXPERIENCE DYES WITH THEM.

The reality of a gap between tablature and performance remains clear, but we cannot find the term 'improvisation' *per se* in Mace's *Monument*. When I study the book, however, he seems to employ the expression 'voluntary play' synonymously. There are some hints in the lute part of the book where we find not only an elaborate ornament vocabulary with clear relations to the harpsichord and viol[45] but also remarks such as: 1) The musician must know his key well so he does not add *graces* that sound bad; 2) he must be aware of his *fuge*, *shape* and *form* so that it translates well to the audience; and 3), which is perhaps the most revealing, one must:

43   Dart, *Burwell*, 3–62, 14, 25, 44, 46, 51.
44   François Couperin suggests this is probably why, according to him, performers outside of France 'play our music less well than we play theirs [...] Our costum has enslaved us and we continue in it [...] Thus not having devised any signs or characters for communicating our particular ideas, we strive to remedy this by writing words like "tenderly", "quickly", etc. [...];' Couperin, F., *L'Art de toucher le clavecin*. Trans. M. Halford, 2. ed. (USA: Alfred Publishing Co., Inc., 1995), 49.
45   Mace does also include dynamics ('soft' and 'loud') and pauses in his listings of ornaments.

be able (upon the *Touch of any String, or Key*) so to *follow such a Touch, or such a Humour, as on* the sudden, you either accidentally Hit upon or else shall *Design for your self, to follow like a Master*; the which shall be done [...] in the Nature of *Ex tempore*, or *Voluntary Play*.

But the true support for my interpretation of voluntary play, as synonymous for what we now call improvisation, can be found in his theorbo section where he presents some *lessons* 'to show you the way and manner of Playing *Voluntary*, which you may imitate.' As we may call it axiomatic that improvisation is part of continuo practice (as put by Mace: 'when you can *Readily* perform, from off a *Song-Note*, you may be said to be a *Tollerable Performer* in a *Consort*'), we may transfer this use of 'voluntary play' onto other parts of the book. The overall impression upon reading the book is that 'performer,' 'improviser' and 'composer,' as entities, permeate into one another, and this not only makes it difficult to speak solely of one of the components but also implies a contemporary view of the 'whole musician.' This is especially the case if we consider his sections on improvising *interludes,* serving as bridges between one key and another so that the passing from one key to the next is not perceived as harsh.[46]

Applying Conforto's pigliarne copia *examples to French Baroque lute music*

Previous descriptions and instructions on improvisation are open for interpretation and, in their more or less clear directions, one is left wondering *how* it was done in French lute music and not only *what* was done. Mignot de la Voye (1656) comments: 'Mais comme le silence dépend de la fantaisie du Compositeur, on n'en peut pas donner des regles certaines, il faut donc avoir recours à l'estude des partitions des bons Autheurs [...].'[47] (But as the [utilisation of] silence depends on the imagination of the composer, one cannot provide certain rules, it is necessary to resort to studying scores [and tablatures] of good composers.) As has been seen on numerous occasions throughout this article, improvisatory practice follows (as far as the musical situation allows it) the rules of composition. Simple logic, then, suggests that a good way to start acquiring a vocabulary is to turn to the composed repertoire, extracting figures and models from the composers at a given period of time. A full investigation of that sort does not serve the present context, but I will present some selected examples from the lute-related repertoire to show some key features that can be used on Conforto's examples to make them sound more Baroque. The first is from Francesco Corbetta's 'Caprice de chaconne' (1671; see Ex. 5 below)[48] where the legatos (which on plucked string instruments are produced by left-hand techniques called, in modern terms, hammer on and pull off) are written according to what is idiomatic to the instrument, rather than what suits the metre or phrase; the legato ends when a new

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46   Mace, T., *Musick's Monument, or a remembrancer of the best practical musick, both devine and civil, that has ever been known to have been in the world divided into three parts....* (London: T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson for the author, and are sold by himself--- and by John Carr, 1676), 40, 115, 134, 209, 217.

47   de la Voye, M., *Traité de musique* (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1656), Part 4: 17.

48   Corbetta, F., *La guitarre royalle* (Paris: H. Bonneüil, 1671).

string is plucked. A similar case can also be seen in the lute repertoire (see Ex. 6 be-
low), although it seems that slurs are even more frequent in the Baroque guitar reper-
toire. Idiomatic playing is a keyword in the French lute repertoire;[49] Example 7 below
presents this statement clearly.
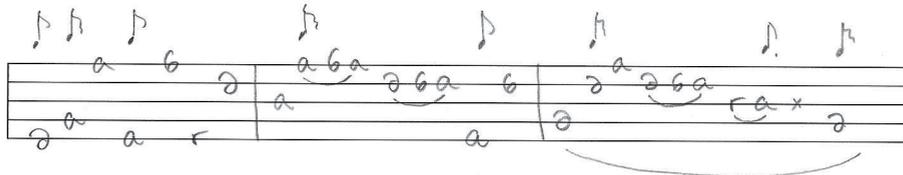
Example 5. Bars 23–26 in Francesco Corbetta's 'Caprice de chaconne,' *La guitarre royale* (Paris, 1671), 72.
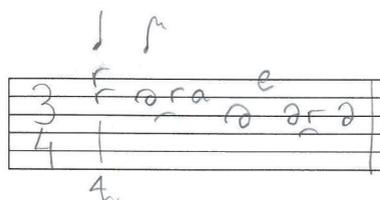
Example 6. First bar from 'Sarabande' for Baroque lute, *Tabulatura lutniowa RM 4136 olim Mf 2003*, Lau-
tenbuch nr. 3, 7r.
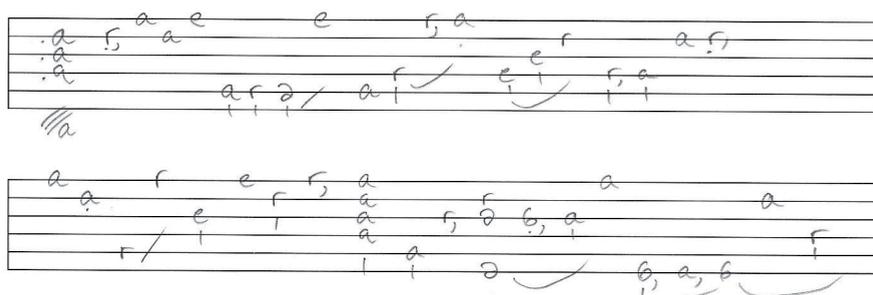
Example 7. Beginning of Mr. Gaultier 'Prelude,' *Livres de tablathutre…*, 6.

Based on my experience as a performer and scholar, and many examples such as those
few given here (Exs. 5–7), I suggest that the Renaissance *passagi* practice, as presented
by Conforto, can be made to sound Baroque in the following manners:

- – Sometimes changing *figuetas* (i.e. the technique based on right hand thumb/
  index finger alternation) for idiomatic legatos.
- – Sometimes playing a *passagio* more close to the vertical action it leads to,
  instead of being equally distributed between two points; that is, more like
  graces than evenly distributed *passagi*.

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49   Of course, this applies to other national traditions as well, but given that France is my concern here,
     I choose only to focus on that.

  – Extracting short, suitable cells from Conforto's examples, rather than rushing
    to be able to fit all tones into a context that does not provide enough time
    for the performer to do so.
  – Utilising *notes inégales* when aesthetically proper to do so.
  – Mixing Conforto's examples with the popular graces of the Baroque compo-
   sers (e.g. *tremblement*, *martellement* and *chute*).

Case: 'Canon de gautier'

To exemplify these points, I will apply a selection of them in order to accommodate
Conforto's models to a French seventeenth century lute piece. I have chosen Monsieur
Gaultier's 'Canon de gautier' (*Ms. Barbe*, Paris, Bibliothèque National, Département
de la musique, F-Pn Rés. Vmb. ms. 7, p. 1) because it is not technically demanding
and thus it leaves room for added melodic lines. To make my argument more effective
I will only focus on the first bars in the aim of showing how the *pigliarne copia* men-
tality can be used; the same mentality can of course be tested on the rest of the piece
where appropriate.

   In Example 8 (see Ex. 9 for a Baroque lute tablature version) I have followed Con-
forto's method by looking up intervals and choosing examples, or parts of examples,
to copy-paste into the melody of the 'Canon de gautier.' The first line of the examples
shows the original piece and the two lower versions show variations made from ex-
tracting Conforto's examples. Slurs have been added according to instrument idiomat-
ics to create the typical, rhythmic syncopation seen in French repertoire, particularly
that of the Baroque guitar (cf. the music of Corbetta and de Visée).

Example 8. Bars 1–4 of 'Canon de gautier,' *Ms. Barbe*, Paris, Bibliothèque National, Département de la
musique, F-Pn Rés. Vmb. ms. 7, 1; with possible variations.

Example 9. Bars 1–4 of 'Canon de gautier' with possible variations; Baroque lute tablature version.

The cells extracted for Examples 8 and 9 are quite literate in terms of rhythm and by using more Baroque-like techniques, such as left hand legatos, to produce the figures. The figures then become more like graces than *passagi*. It is also possible to further elaborate on the rhythm (see Ex. 10 below) drawing both on the aesthetics of graces and inspiration from the French *notes inégales* practice in which a steady eighth note progression can be played straight (as written) or dotted (stressing either the first or second note of each pair of eighths).
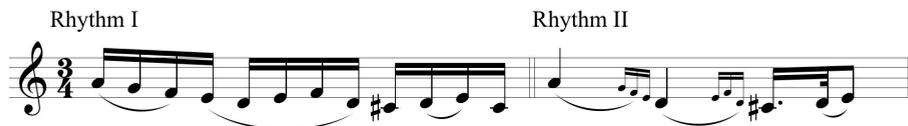
Example 10. Selected tones from bar 1 of 'Canon de gautier' with one possible rhythmic variation.

Concluding thoughts

As we recall, *Grove music online* spoke of improvisation as '[t]he creation of a musical work, or the final form of a musical work, as it is being performed.' Through this article I have tried to present a systematic practice of teaching ornamentation and improvisation; a practice that gives the performer a sense of comfort, and extended vocabulary, to be a valid methodology in tuition. It can provide the student, as well as the teacher, somewhere to start building an improvisation vocabulary, to better grasp the logic behind improvisation and starting to connect melodic points linearly without being too much hindered by authenticity related questions. Of course improvisation, embellishing and *passagi*-practice stand in proportion to the abilities of the performer. This is why I found the methodology interesting; it can be adopted to the performer's individual skill and a vocabulary can be gained systematically (without necessarily

having to follow tuition). If the methodology is used correctly, it can provide a vocabulary not only in the Renaissance, but also in the Baroque and this becomes a highly effective methodology seen in a pedagogical context.

This article has highlighted three interesting perspectives and values of such a methodology. First, a *pedagogical value*: Not only is Conforto's treatise useful to learn Renaissance *passagi*, but it can also be used in Baroque music. Having Conforto's treatise, as well his contemporary colleagues' treatises, as part of the curriculum in today's lute education can thus prove quite useful. Recall Simpson who suggested performers lacking sufficient improvisation skills, in 1665, to play '[…] such Divisions as himself or others have made for that purpose.'

Second, a *methodological value*: The *pigliarne copia* strategy can systematically increase the improviser's vocabulary, widening the horizons of what can be accomplished in the Baroque lute repertoire beyond common ornaments.

Third, a *historical value*: The study also emphasises the need for, and usefulness of, regarding performance practice over time, and not only in its own genre or time.

Abstract

Early seventeenth century lute improvisation — a phrase that by its mere utterance may cause debates full of uncertainties, fears and fantasies. What is proper improvisation? How did they do it 360 years ago? In this article I seek to revive a systematic practice of teaching ornamentation and improvisation from the Renaissance scholars — i.e. the *passaggi* practice — and adopt it to function as a methodology for Baroque music. This is done in order to present a practice that can be used in tuition, to have new generations of musicians improvise in a comfortable manner using a broad vocabulary; to present a methodology with pedagogical, methodological and a historical value.

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